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Students Rally, Call For Lukanov's Resignation

AU0811203690 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 8 Nov (BTA)—Several hundreds of students took part in a rally and procession, making demands for the resignation of Premier Lukanov and his one-party socialist government. They carried posters which read "Resignation! Mr. Lukanov, don't waste Bulgaria's time".

The procession started from the building of Sofia University and was to get to the headquarters of the Council of Ministers, but the authorities in the capital did not allow it. The progress of the students was blocked by a line of policemen in the square in front of the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) which is 200 m. away from the Council of Ministers. A car with "red berets" was parked near the demonstrators, but they did not intervene.

The students, most of them members or sympathizers of the Independent Student Societies (in the Union of Democratic Forces), called upon their colleagues for active strike drives. They backed up the demands of the strikers in Sofia University who insist that the BSP property should be nationalized and that those who are to blame for the catastrophe should be taken to task, but they declared themselves to be against occupation and street action.

A new wave of student protests began on Monday when a sit-in strike was declared in the University of Sofia. Unlike the events in summer when the students went on their first sit-in strike, now they are not united as to the form of protest. The political forces have not announced yet their official stand on the sit-in strike and the demands raised by the students, except for the Alternative Socialist Party (member of the UDF) and the Forum of Free Democrats, who approved the students' drive. The president stated that the students' demands are justified, but he did not approve their sit-in strike.

Today the Institute of Pedagogy in Shumen also declared a sit-in strike. There are no classes at the Academy of Theater and Film Art in Sofia; the strikes in the Medical Academy, the University of National and World Economy and in two higher education establishments in Ruse are going on.

Possibility of BSP Split, New Majority Viewed

AU0811203790 Sofia BTA in English 1904 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 8 Nov (BTA)—Ten radical-minded members of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) distance themselves from the work of the Socialists in parliament, Mr. Veselin Pavlov, former transport minister, stated on television last night. If this really happens, the Socialists will probably lose their "monolithic" unity thanks to which they control the vote on all important issues at the Grand National Assembly.

Last night Mr. Veselin Pavlov and Mr. Dragomir Draganov, both of them MP's of the BSP, took part in the "Face to Face" Television Program together with three MP's of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS], MP Elena Kircheva of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and some leaders of the two biggest trade union organizations.

All participants in the program were unanimous that the present one-party socialist government is not in position to fulfill the program submitted to parliament by Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov. They shared the opinion that it is necessary to form a new parliamentary majority which would support a coalition of national consensus.

A UDF MP stated that the radical-minded MP's representing the different political forces should form a majority that would oppose conservatives and guarantee the radical economic reform.

According to a public opinion poll held last week in the country, 44 percent of the respondents are for a UDF-dominated coalition government and only 21 percent favor a BSP-dominated coalition. Twenty-two percent want a government entirely formed by members of the UDF and only 2.8 percent are for a one-party socialist government.

"There should be new people who have not proved they cannot rule," Mr. Stoyan Ganev, a UDF national representative, said, thus hinting that most of the members of Mr. Lukanov's present cabinet were bound in one or another way with Todor Zhivkov's administration.

UDF leader Petur Beron hailed the formation of the new group of reform-minded Socialists and the anchorman defined the announcement as "historic". "Ten people of the BSP refuse to cast their votes as if obeying to military discipline," he said.

BSP Reportedly Holds Special Meeting on Crisis

AU0811212290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Today the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] began an extraordinary meeting devoted to the increasing pressure for the resignation of the government, reported REUTERS, citing high-ranking BSP sources.

The 150 members of the BSP Supreme Council, REUTERS reports, will decide whether Aleksandur Lilov should leave the post of BSP Supreme Council chairman, to which he was elected two months ago.

Another important issue that is discussed is whether the government of Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, which was formed six weeks ago, also should resign. According

to the sources quoted by REUTERS it is not clear whether Lilov will resign, although according to rumors, his deputy, Aleksandur Slavov [name as heard] will probably assume the party leadership until the official election of a new leader.

No Decision After All-Night Session

AU0911084490 Sofia BTA in English 0827 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 9 Nov (BTA)—After they sat in session all night long (from 2100 to 0600 hrs. this morning) [1900-0400 GMT], the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) did not make any decision, a top Supreme Council official told a BTA reporter.

According to unconfirmed rumours, last night a reshuffle in the BSP leadership was expected.

No decision was made and the sitting will be resumed either this evening or tomorrow, the Supreme Council sources said.

Tomov: 'No Formal Resignations'

AU0911133890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Interview with Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, by Elena Shtereva at the Grand National Assembly in Sofia on 9 November—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Many rumors have been circulating today in connection with last night's session of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. Our reporter Elena Shtereva managed to track down Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Party Council, in the National Assembly. This is what he said about the session:

[Tomov] The meeting discussed the overall sociopolitical situation in the country, questions relating to the work of the commissions on investigating the responsibility and the persons guilty of causing the crisis, and on party property, as well as matters relating to the activities of the Supreme Party Council. This means that we were trying to resolve problems which were submitted to the attention of the Supreme Party Council members. We also discussed the work of the deputies' group and the work of individual Supreme Party Council representatives and members of the parliamentary group.

[Shtereva] What about the talk among journalists of people resigning?

[Tomov] Look here, I cannot tell you anything serious on this question, considering that there have been no formal resignations. Proposals on resignations have been submitted as an expression of goodwill.

[Shtereva] Have the people in question submitted their resignations, or have others proposed that they resign?

[Tomov] So far only the persons themselves have offered to resign, for the time being at least. I still repeat that there is no question of resignations at this moment. No one has formally resigned.

[Shtereva] There are also rumors about a possible forthcoming BSP congress.

[Tomov] This is not true, particularly considering the fact that according to the party statutes at least one month's notice should be given before convening a congress. This is a false rumor.

[Announcer] We also learned another piece of news, namely that the session of the BSP Supreme Council is expected to continue on Monday [12 November].

Socialist M.P.'s Form 'National Consensus' Group

AU0911125790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1103 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Declaration by a group of Socialist members of the Grand National Assembly, read by Boris Dimovski at the 9 November Assembly session in Sofia—live]

[Text] Constituent Statement of the Parliamentary Group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] for National Consensus:

During the five months since the elections, in our country not a single practical step has been taken toward the reforms which are so necessary for Bulgaria. The situation in our political and economic life is rapidly deteriorating. The inaction of the leaderships of the BSP and the government is inexplicable. There is a real danger of a parliamentary and government crisis, with unforeseeable consequences for the country. Bulgaria is [words indistinct] the reforms in Europe.

Guided by our responsibility to our electors and the people, and the need for speedy action to bring the country out of the global crisis, we announce our decision to form a parliamentary group of deputies for national consensus from the midst of the BSP. [applause]

We are not leaving the BSP. We want to fulfill the oath which we have taken, and I quote: The prosperity and well-being of the Bulgarian people are my sacred duty, and may Bulgaria be [words indistinct]. [applause]

We will not support actions or failures to act which lead to the country becoming ungovernable and the delay or postponement of the reforms. We are ready to support a government made up of the different political forces in parliament, which is capable of ensuring national consensus, accelerated reforms, and the defense of national interests.

It is impermisible that Bulgaria's interests should be neglected and subjected to party-political goals. We will defend our own viewpoint on all issues.

I will read the list of the deputies who are members of the parliamentary group: Veselin Pavlov, Manol Manolov, Boryan Kalchev, Stanislav Stoev, Rumyana Nikolova, Vasil Kurtev, Boris Dimovski, Kalinka Boneva, Matushka Avramova, Khristo Khristov, Ivan Kharalambiev, Dimitur Videlov, Ivan Dochev, Nikola Zlatev, Petur Balabanov, and Yosif Iliev.

The door is open. Let those who wish join us.

Sofia BSP Council Elects Bliznashki Leader

AU0811160690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Nov 90 p 2

[Dora Chichkova report]

[Text] The constituent conference of the Sofia City organization of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], which ended in the early hours of the morning of 5 November, elected a party council of 52 persons. The 34-year-old Georgi Bliznashki won the competition for the post of chairman of the council. His election "rivals" were Yuriy Stoimenov and Zakhari Zakhariev.

Georgi Bliznashki is a candidate of juridical sciences, a chief assistant on constitutional law at the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia, and a member of the Presidium of the BSP Supreme Council. He served as an expert member of the BSP delegation to the roundtable talks last spring, and since then has been an expert adviser of the BSP parliamentary group in the Grand National Assembly.

At its first session, the Sofia City BSP Council elected an 11-strong executive bureau. The bureau's members are similar in age to the chairman.

The first session also brought the first test for the new leadership. This came not because of the electricity cuts, but as a result of the reports on the student sit-ins at higher education establishments. The Sofia City BSP Council expressed its determination to use all legitimate means to oppose the illegal actions and the attempts to destabilize the situation in Sofia.

Lukanov Explains Reform Program, Risks Involved

AU0811153790 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 30 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov by Sonya Stoyanova; place and date not given; "Lukanov Will Resign Unless He Receives Parliament's Support"]

[Text] [Stoyanova] Mr. Lukanov, you said previously that you would not lead a single-party government, but you have done just this. You then said that you would not become a member of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], and yet you did. You further stated that if your proposed program does not receive support by the whole of parliament, you will not agree to remain prime minister. Do you maintain this position?

[Lukanov] I indeed believed, and continue to believe that a single-party government is not a good alternative for Bulgaria. If I agreed to go against my own view, this was connected with my understanding that I should not provoke a political crisis and a chronic situation of lack of power (which unfortunately has already happened anyway). This forced me to head a single-party government, but I am ready at any moment to undertake a government reshuffle, provided that the political forces give their consent to this. As far as my participation in the BSP Supreme Council is concerned, this commitment is also a valid one, and was assumed in the event of the formation of a coalition or program government. I confirm even now that if matters developed in this way, I would ask the Supreme Party Council to relieve me from this post.

Concerning the third issue which you mentioned, I must say that I maintain my stated position and am completely firm on this issue. This is not because I am concerned about the future of a prime minister who carries out such a program, but because I would like the program to succeed. Unless my proposed program wins wide public and parliamentary support, it is simply doomed to failure. I do not want to take responsibility for the collapse of such a vitally important program.

[Stoyanova] Do you not think that the political reform is poorly reflected in your program?

[Lukanov] The program does contain a political section, but this part could be expanded and supplemented. I would regard this as expedient if we reach appropriate accords with the parliamentary groups and factions in political consultations. My personal view is that the political reform should be speeded up on a number of issues which are of concern to our society.

[Stoyanova] What parts of the economic section of your program are taken from the BSP election platform?

[Lukanov] I want to stress explicitly that my program is not the program of the BSP. My program is one around which the nation might rally. In principle, the program is neither taken from the BSP election program, nor is it a party program. For this reason, when the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] claims that it sees elements of its own platform in the program, this can only bring me joy. This is indeed my aim, namely that everyone should see in it enough elements to enable him to support the program. It is another matter that neither the SDS, the BSP, myself, nor anyone else can claim to be the author of the program, because it contains universal recipes for the transition to a market economy. If there is any connection between the election document and this program, it lies most of all in the agreed conclusions of the experts at the national roundtable talks. They drafted

an economic document reflecting the common view of the roundtable participants on the main directions of the reform.

[Stoyanova] Why was this economic document not included in the BSP's platform? During the election campaign, you in fact deceived the people.

[Lukanov] The document was included in its entirety in the program of the former government. As far as I personally am concerned, and with regard to the ideas, which are included in my present program (maybe not in such a radical form, because the circumstances were different), I held such ideas a long time before 10 November 1989.

[Stoyanova] Is it not true that our economy is idle now because the government did not impose a moratorium on foreign debt payments at the right time?

[Lukanov] Before making such a decision, it was necessary to attempt to reach a different settlement, in particular, to renew the financing by our creditors and rotate the debts as payments fell due in the first half of 1990. We needed some time to make contacts, both with governments and with the banks. Only when we became convinced that no other solution was possible and that there was no other alternative, did we resort to suspending payments.

[Stoyanova] In one of the preelection studio programs you told the entire country about the touching scene when you said goodbye to your son on the eve of 10 November, a day full of risk. Since a number of people from the top level of power deny that such a risk existed, what exactly did you have in mind?

[Lukanov] General Dzhurov's words on this matter have been interpreted wrongly. He said that no force was used, and indeed there was no violence. This absence of violence is in fact the important feature of the events of 9 and 10 November. In the final analysis, a statutory and constitutional solution was achieved on the issue of the change. However, this in no way implies that Todor Zhivkov abdicated voluntarily, and that he himself almost initiated everything himself. This is completely contrary to the truth. He went because the majority of the Politburo members formed the view that he should go. In addition, international and internal circumstances existed which made such a solution necessary. However, despite this, Todor Zhivkov wanted to make the change on his own terms, which in essence would ensure the continuation of his dominating position in Bulgarian public and political life. Anyone who claims the contrary either is not acquainted with the truth or is playing the hypocrite by hindsight.

The attempt to achieve the change could also have been made by forceful means, and I assert this with complete conviction even now. Anyone who asserts the opposite has simply forgotten what Todor Zhivkov meant. Therefore, a risk did exist, and a real one at that. Petur Mladenov was the first to take it. It is unworthy of people to underestimate 10 November, because this was the day which led to everything that is happening now.

Industrial Power Supply Restrictions Increased

AU0811203290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] The Power Supply Committee announces that the restrictions on the use of electricity in enterprises of the first category will continue until 2200 [2000 GMT] on Friday, 9 November. In addition, on Friday limited use of electricity will be introduced in enterprises of the sixth category, between 0600 to 2200.

Enterprises of the second category must prepare for the limited use of electricity between 0600 on 12 November, Monday, until 2200 on 16 November.

Today it became necessary to expand the power supply restrictions for the population. From 1300 to 2300 the supply of electricity will be stopped every two hours for two hours. I repeat: today it became necessary to expand the power supply restrictions for the population. From 1700 to 2200 [times as heard] electricity will be stopped every two hours for two hours.

Commentary Explains 'Slow' Western Economic Aid

AU0711092990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Nov 90 p 5

[Ivan Horsky commentary: "The Economy as a Policy"]

[Text] There has recently been a great deal of discussion on various levels, both at home and abroad, about the urgent economic and financial assistance required by our economy.

During his visit to the CSFR, Jacques Attali, president of the newly established European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, paid particular attention to our need for the conversion to a market mechanism and for our incorporation into the economic and political framework of an integrated Europe. What is especially important in this context, however, is the fact that—following a relatively long silence—the West is beginning to pay more attention to the so-called Dienstbier Stabilization Plan for Central Europe and the USSR. Attention is being paid to this plan not only in the main Western European financial centers and in the EC headquarters in Brussels, but there is also attention from oversees—particularly from the United States—which still has the decisive say in worldwide financial decisionmaking. It would be premature, however, to claim that this proposal has reached the implementation stage, although experts in the lobbies are expressing positive opinions about it.

This Marshall Plan for the eastern part of the continent aims to provide medium- and long-term aid; furthermore, the countries of this region momentarily require more immediate assistance for their economic reforms, which are being implemented during a new oil crisis and the threat of recession. This situation is characterized in the United States, to date, by higher inflation and a decline in unemployment and economic growth; therefore, in Brussels a few days ago, representatives of the 24 most advanced Western countries considered the possibilities for economically helping the East. International financial institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF, the European Investment Bank, and others, decided that, in addition to the $15 billion package approved for Poland last year, three countries—the CSFR, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia—will receives a sum of $3.8 billion, with the World Bank alone providing $2.5 billion. The precise distribution of this sum has not yet been worked out

The aid coordinator—the EC Commission—wants to donate 820 million European Currency Units [ECUs] (more than $1 billion) toward assisting Eastern and Central Europe in 1991—as opposed to 500 million ECUs ($665 million) this year—and almost 1 billion ECUs a year later. At the same time, the EC will deposit capital worth 300 million ECUs in the bank headed by Mr. Attali. This year the CSFR has received 35 million ECUs from the budget of the "12." This money is earmarked for assisting environmental conservation and for financing exchanges within the framework of the Tempus program involving students and teachers at universities in Europe.

Apart from this, our republic will receive aid from the World Bank within the framework of the programs providing technical assistance for banking and management structures as well as direct investments for the restructuring of industry, ecological projects, the financial, power and telecommunications industries. In this connection, it is necessary to mention that in Brussels the "24" decided—in connection with the reduction in Soviet oil supplies—to regard the East's power industry problems as a priority issue. They also decided that the issue of financial aid will, in this instance, be dealt with by the IMF.

It seems to many people that economic aid is slow in getting off the mark. It is necessary, however, to realize that we are far from establishing a suitable economic and legal environment, to say nothing of our rather unstable internal political situation. The aforementioned sums are more in support of our start in the new era and are a cash injection for our efforts on the road toward economic and political reform aimed at incorporating us into the European and world democratic system.

Economic Seminar Series Begins in New York

AU0711174790 Prague CTK in English 1305 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] New York Nov 5 (CTK correspondent)—The first of three seminars on the Czechoslovak economy begins in New York today, the other two are to take place this week in Chicago and Washington. Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Zdenek Cerveny stressed two points in this context: that legislative effort which is to form as solid basis for foreign investments from the turn of this year is now culminating in Czechoslovakia and that Czechoslovakia will soon enjoy the advantages of the most-favored-nation status in trade with the United States which will give new possibilities for the development of commercial relations.

First Vice-President of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs Pavel Dvorak told CTK that he would study mainly the possibilities of U.S. financial aid to the private sector in order to set up a network of counselling centers, a service that would be needed most by new entrepreneurs.

Calfa Meets Finnish Foreign Trade Minister

AU0811060690 Prague CTK in English 2200 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 6 (CTK)—New possibilities of Czechoslovak-Finnish cooperation were the main theme of today's debate between Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa and Finnish Minister of Foreign Trade Pertti Salolainen after the signing of an agreement on support and protection of investments.

The agreement aims to provide conditions for common international entrepreneurial activities in Czechoslovakia before a legislation on the country's open market economy is passed completely. As early as during Calfa's visit to Finland in March Czechoslovakia showed interest in cooperation, especially in the timber industry, energy production and telecommunications.

Five Albanian Refugees Arrive in Prague

AU0811060190 Prague CTK in English 2006 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 6 (CTK)—A five-member Albanian family who asked for political asylum in Czechoslovakia at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Bucharest on Monday arrived in the Czechoslovak capital today.

From the airport the Albanians were transported to a refugee camp at Jablonecek near Mimon, North Bohemia. Tomorrow they will arrange all formalities.

On October 22 the family arrived in Romania on a one-month trip. The Czechoslovak Embassy in Bucharest ensured accommodation and food for the Albanians, gave them money and arranged their transport to Prague.

Indian, Pakistani Refugees Detained at Border

AU0711172190 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 5 (CTK)—A total of ten Indian and eight Pakistani nationals were detained last night at a border crossing with Germany trying to cross it illegally, according to a report of the state border protection authority in Usti nad Labem, north Bohemia.

Some of the refugees have already been released as they have still valid Czechoslovak visas and want to continue their stay in Czechoslovakia, allegedly as tourists. Two Indians have asked Czechoslovak authorities to be granted refuge in the country. A group of Pakistanis which is now short of money seeks refuge in Czechoslovakia for five days. After getting money from abroad they intend to travel to some third country.

Attempts at illegal crossing of the border with Germany in north Bohemia have been on the rise recently.

More Indians Cross Border Illegally

AU0811162090 Prague CTK in English 1041 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Usti nad Labem, North Bohemia Nov 6 (CTK)—German authorities last night intercepted a group of 38 more Indian nationals shortly after they crossed the Czechoslovak border illegally at Petrovice.

The German border patrol also detained three Czechoslovak citizens who organized the crossing. Early this morning the refugees were handed over to Czechoslovak officials.

Cabinet Meeting Discusses Financial Issues

LD0811222290 Prague CTK in English 2057 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 8 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak cabinet today put off the debate on the bill on the Czechoslovak federation, defining the powers of the federal and republic governments, until later tonight.

The cabinet approved draft principles of an agreement on good-neighbour relations and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany.

It heard a report of the Finance Ministry on measures in support of private businesses, stating that psychological and administrative barriers were the main obstacles to private business in the present period. The measures in support of private businesses are aimed to create a sufficiently motivating environment for market economy through taxes, credits, legal status and insurance.

The cabinet discussed ways of monitoring prices development after their liberalization, to be ensured by the information system of state statistics and by a price regulation and control system shaped by the federal and republics' finance ministries.

The cabinet approved agreements concluded between the Czechoslovak Government and the Governments of Greece and Algiers [as received] on cooperation and aid in the customs sphere, aimed to facilitate tourist traffic, trade and more effective cooperation in fighting against smuggling of drugs and antiques. It approved also an agreement with the Canadian Government on cooperation in culture, science and sports.

At a press conference, director of a Federal Office of Statistics department Kamil Kudlacek stated that the index of consumer prices in the first nine months of this year rose in Czechoslovakia by 7.2 per cent compared with the same period last year, with the biggest growth registered in the July-September period due to rises in the prices of food, when the overall prices level grew by 14.1 per cent, of food by 20 per cent, industrial goods by 11 per cent, public catering by 15.9 per cent and services by 9. per cent.

The inflation rate next year is estimated at 15 to 30 per cent.

Assembly Discusses Press Freedom, Elections

AU0711100990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Nov 90 p 2

[CTK report: "In Manacles Again?"]

[Text] Prague—At its session in Prague yesterday, the Extraparliamentary Assembly discussed, among other things, the current internal political situation and issues relating to the preelection campaign. An open letter was sent from the session to the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council which expressed alarm about

the growing tendencies of government circles and the Castle to suppress freedom of the press and independence. Apropos, the issue surrounding the statement made by Mr. Dolejsi about November 17, the letter states: "If an untruth is said or written, let the truth be expressed if someone's honor is at stake and let rectification be achieved by legal means. No one, however, must be subjected to a hysterical campaign and be excluded from expressing his opinions and ideas." The Extraparliamentary Assembly also sent an open letter to the CSFR premier in which it demands that an independent editorial commission be established within Czechoslovak Television which would make sure that, during the course of the preelection campaign, this monopolistic state mass information medium does not show inappropriate favoritism to any of the political parties or movements participating in the local elections. In conclusion, the participants expressed their indignation at the disapproving and haughty stance adopted by the Castle toward the Extraparliamentary Assembly, a stance which was recently conveyed by the president's press spokesman.

Coexistence Leader on Meeting With Havel

AU0611122190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Coexistence Movement chairman Miklos Duray by Tibor Kis; place and date not given: "Hungarians in Slovakia Meet Havel"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] President Vaclav Havel is paying a three-day working visit to Slovakia. On Monday 29 October he visited Turocszentmarton [Martin], and on Wednesday 31 October he visited Bratislava, where he gave a speech at the Comenius University, among others. In the afternoon, he separately received various representatives of the Hungarian national minority in Czechoslovakia. Havel met with the representatives of the political movement named "Coexistence," as well as with the Hungarian Christian-Democratic Movement [MKDM], and he also received the leaders of the Independent Hungarian Initiative that acts as a member of the government coalition.

[Kis] What topics were raised during the meeting between the president and the leaders of the national minority coalition?

[Duray] The president received the four-person delegations of Coexistence and the MKDM in his Bratislava residence, and we held a 30-minute meeting. First, we talked about tensions which prevail in Slovakia, anti-Hungarian manifestations in the Slovak Republic, and xenophobic incidents; last, but not least, we discussed the language law that was passed last week.

[Kis] What conclusion did you reach on the language law?

[Duray] The Coexistence representatives who were present at the meeting expressed their disagreement with the language law because they see it as detrimental to national minorities, discriminating, and consequently anti-democratic. We expressed our fundamental objections: The 20 percent barrier that has been agreed upon is disadvantageous in the present situation, given that the proportion of national minorities has dropped, primarily because of the post-war anti-Hungarian and anti-German measures taken to deprive these minorities of their civil rights, and because of deportations. We pointed out that the accepted law would even endanger the bilingual signposts that exist. Furthermore, the law stipulates that citizens who do not belong to one of the national minorities have to use the official language at their workplace and in public life. In other words, in principle, two Slovaks who know Hungarian will not be able to speak Hungarian in the future. In an extreme case, this phrase could imply that a special designation of some kind could be given to the people who are allowed to use minority languages. At the same time, the representatives of the MKDM pointed out to the president that Hungarians in Slovakia have always been loyal Czechoslovak citizens, and that this was a sufficient reason for them not to be treated in this way.

[Kis] What was President Havel's reply to all this?

[Duray] He expressed his hope that the spirit of hatred would only be a temporary phenomenon, and that, once people had calmed down, maybe a new language law could be passed in a few years' time. The president believes that the new federal Constitution currently being drafted could form the basis of understanding.

[Kis] Did the national minority leaders who were present at the meeting agree with this viewpoint?

[Duray] The so-called constitutional letter that is presently being drafted, and which comprises civic and human rights, is originally meant to cover political, economic, national minority, social, and cultural rights. Coexistence believes that the original plan has been endangered by the fact that, as far as we know, prominent Slovak political representatives only wish to see the codification of civic rights in the aforementioned constitutional letter. As far as we know, an agreement is being outlined between Czech and Slovak leaders, whereby the federal constitutional letter should only comprise general concepts, and the parliaments of the two republics should have to decide on the concrete rights.

[Kis] What were your impressions of the meeting?

[Duray] The representatives of Coexistence lament the fact that such a meeting between the president and the leaders of our movement could only be held for the first time now, although we already requested such a meeting several times in the past. Personally, I think that this meeting took place too late; it only took place after a kind of fait accompli had developed in Slovakia; however, the representatives of Coexistence cannot be blamed for this delay.

Dobrovsky Asked To Investigate Free Legion

AU0711101890

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 3 November, page 3, carries a 500-word interview with Jiri Miler, director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy [UOKD], by Jiri Dolezel entitled "What Was the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy Supposed To Investigate: Extremism." The interview, the date and place of which are not given, deals with the UOKD's investigations into the activity of the Free Legion, an organization of officers critical of the Czechoslovak Army command, which prompted Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky to lift his ban on this group's activity on 30 October.

In the interview, Miler confirms that Dobrovsky asked the UOKD to investigate the Free Legion's activities and that the UOKD subsequently issued a report, on the basis of which Dobrovsky canceled his earlier order suspending the activity of this group of officers.

Asked about the specific assignment which the UOKD received from Minister Dobrovsky, Miler says that his office had been asked to investigate whether the Free Legion is not a "tool of extremism." As he stresses, this was the only aspect of the Free Legion's activity the UOKD dealt with, in harmony with its "mission." Its investigations showed that "the Free Legion cannot be viewed as an organization of this kind."

Confronted with complaints of members of the Free Legion "that they are being observed, that their telephones are being tapped, and that their mail is getting lost," Miler replies: "There is nothing I can say about this. The UOKD does not, and will not, carry out observations of people and check correspondence for political reasons.... That is simply out of the question!"

Communists Disagree on Change to Paper's Masthead

LD0711103190 Prague CTK in English 0923 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 7 (CTK)—The daily "RUDE PRAVO" today carries an extensive polemic over the change of its masthead from a communist to a "left-wing paper", which appeared evidently without a blessing from the party bodies for the first time in seventy years yesterday.

"The Communist Party faces the real danger of turning into a quarrelsome sect living in an ever smaller rustic museum of ideas and politics", the paper's editorial staff said in reply to criticism from party chief in the Czech Republic Jiri Svoboda, who described the change as "illegal" and unacceptable for "political, legal and moral reasons".

While the change has apparently found understanding with new leaders of the state-wide federal council of the party Pavol Kanis and Miroslav Grebenicek, Svoboda objected because it took place at a time "when our party, faced with proposals for the expropriation of its property, finds itself in dire straits and is in danger of existential insecurity".

The paper's staff rejects these arguments saying that what brought the party to this situation was the fact that over "the last four decades it systematically liquidated all possibilities and creation of any left forces besides itself, let alone the liquidation of democratic principles and freedoms in the country".

The editors' stand has apparently found backing from regional leader of the party in Slovakia, Peter Weiss, who described the row as "a result of conflicts growing for a long time" and spoke about "an inclination to dictate the paper's staff in the old ways".

The membership of the party, which had a monopoly of power for over forty years in Czechoslovakia, has dropped by about a million to some 700,000 in the whole of Czechoslovakia and the circulation of "RUDE PRAVO" which appears in Czech has declined to some 500,000 from about 1.25 million since last year.

The Slovak Communist Party, now calling itself the Democratic Left Party, publishes its own daily, PRAVDA.

Socialists Set Dates for Party Congresses

AU0711220090 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Nov 90 p 3

[Unattributed report]

[Text] At its session on Monday [5 November], the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] Central Committee Presidium familiarized itself with the course of preparations for the Extraordinary 25th CSS Congress. It will recommend to the CSS Central Committee that the congress be held on 12-13 January 1991. The congress will be preceded by the congress of the Prague CSS land organization on 1 December and by the congress of the Czech CSS land organization on 8 December.

Komarek Discusses Economic Reform Measures

AU0711115890 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Nov 90 p 13

[Interview with Valtr Komarek, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber in the Federal Assembly, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: reprinted from No. 7 of the weekly GENERACE; "Czechoslovak Economic Reform Equals Polish Reform; Komarek versus Klaus"; first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] We all remember Valtr Komarek from the tempestuous days of last November and from his distinctive conduct in the Government of National Consensus. At

the time, he gained a lot of supporters and admirers. Yet, he is not a member of the current Calfa government.... The weekly GENERACE [Generation] published an interview about his departure but also about the new economic reform.

[GENERACE] Can you explain why they slammed the government door in your face?

[Komarek] You are somewhat mistaken. I decided myself not to enter through the door. I was not interested even in the deputy premier's post in the Government of National Consensus. I eventually accepted the post under pressure from President Havel and the Civic Forum [OF].

[GENERACE] Do you mean to imply that as far as you are concerned everything is fine?

[Komarek] I left under different circumstances than I originally expected.

[GENERACE] Did you have to leave because you disagreed with the current economic reform?

[Komarek] Well, if you insist. There were people for whom it was important that I not be in the new government. I do not know whether it was only because I was pushing for a different economic strategy.

[GENERACE] That is not very ethical....

[Komarek] Today, ethics are constantly discussed, but it sounds like a bad sermon when it comes out of the mouths of young politicians, who think that only young political athletes will prevail, those versed in modern psychology and political science. At the same time, they forget about honesty and truthfulness.

[GENERACE] As I listen to you, I begin to feel that you are glad not to be in the present government?

[Komarek] You are right. I even feel a great relief. Frankly, I would probably be nervous if I had to take part in something with which I disagree.

[GENERACE] Do you think that it is an exceptional opinion or do a majority of people think like that?

[Komarek] I do not dare to guess. Nevertheless, I have no idea where that loudly proclaimed certainty comes from, that we now all stand behind the government we elected.

[GENERACE] Do you also mean the enthusiastic approval of national sacrifice and the tightening of belts?

[Komarek] Certainly. After all, the strength of the economy is not measured by sacrifices. If somebody comes up with an economic reform requiring sacrifices, it is nonsense to my mind. When he also conceals the uncertainty with such slogans, it borders on embarrassment.

[GENERACE] Specifically, what do you disapprove of in the current economic reform?

[Komarek] Above all, the fact that it deviated from the concept which we put together when Klaus was still in the Forecasting Institute. According to that concept, a principle issue was the removal of the structural deformations which created a chronic deficit along with a great imbalance. It is naive to leave the economy in its former state and think that we will introduce a well-functioning capital market and crown it with the convertibility of the koruna. I thought that we would work on our concept, but they came back two months later with something entirely new. It is based entirely on money-price measures and it does not fully appreciate the social aspects of the development. The entire reform is built on three elements—price liberalization, koruna convertibility, and privatization of the state industry. I did not believe that they could change their opinion so fast, but it happened. They succumbed to the illusion that the great amount of work connected with the reform is actually a banal matter. I understood that the present reform attracted them by its very elegance. People are more impressed with a surgeon than with an honest family physician.

[GENERACE] Is it true that our reform is in many aspects similar to the Polish one?

[Komarek] It is not similar, it is identical. The economic operations are identical—price correction, the elimination of subsidies, the increase in the price of raw materials, and dealing with the convertibility of the zloty. You know the result of the reform. I cannot understand, therefore, why nobody can see the direction in which our economy is moving.

[GENERACE] Would you criticize the current reform for moving too fast?

[Komarek] Let us not ask whether the reform is slow or fast, but whether it is good or bad. That is the question, is it not? So far, I have not heard anyone officially admitting that our reform could also be bad. It is naive to think that market forces will cure everything.

[GENERACE] What kind of atmosphere does the Czechoslovak economy have at this time?

[Komarek] An unreasonable situation has been created, and it is time at least to point it out.

[GENERACE] Can one discuss it with our economists?

[Komarek] I am glad that I do not have to deal with this problem.

[GENERACE] How long will it take before our economy recovers?

[Komarek] It would probably be a pessimistic estimate if I said 20 years. I do not even agree with Ota Sik, who guesses 12 years. I believe it will not take that long—that

is, under certain circumstances, which I already mentioned. Even despite the claims of the present reform supporters who say that no other alternative exists.

[GENERACE] What are you doing to push through your own reform?

[Komarek] I am at least trying to discuss it in the parliament.

[GENERACE] If you think that it suffices....

Thank you for the interview.

Environment Ministry Views Energy Issues

LD0711213390 Prague CTK in English 1619 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Prague, Nov 7 (CTK)—Experts from the Czech Ministry of the Environment think that power consumption in the Czechoslovak economy should be decreased by 30 per cent by 2005. This opinion differs from that of the Czechoslovak Economy Ministry which plans an eight-per cent power consumption decline by 2005.

Representatives of the Czech Ministry of the Environment told a press conference here today that the extensive development of power production and consumption, price policy and ignoring of ecological aspects have had many unpleasant results. Czechoslovakia ranks seventh in the world in terms of per capita consumption of primary energy and its energy consumption in terms of the gross national product is much higher than in all industrial countries. Solid fuels are the main source of primary energy in Czechoslovakia, accounting for more than 80 per cent.

The Czech Ministry of the Environment does not propagate development of nuclear power engineering, being fully aware of all its risks. With regard to the fact that its limited development cannot be excluded in the transitional period, the ministry favours a radical change in the approach of investors towards problems linked with nuclear power engineering. The Czech Ministry of the Environment disagrees with the construction of the third and the fourth units at the nuclear power plant in Temelin, south Bohemia, and recommends that the first and the second units be equipped with a reliable control system, the representatives of the Czech Ministry of the Environment said.

Presidential Adviser for Agriculture Appointed

AU0611151890 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 31 Oct 90 p 1

["(jla)" -signed report: "New Presidential Adviser"]

[Excerpts] The Council of the Czech and Moravian-Silesian Countryside held a session at the Ministry of Agriculture of the Czech Republic yesterday to discuss the working draft of the law on the arrangement of ownership relations to agricultural land. [passage omitted] The session was attended by Brother Jan Broj, functionary of the Czechoslovak People's Party, who told the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE correspondent: "I have been received by V. Havel's [economic] adviser R. Wagner today, who told me that I have been appointed adviser of the president of the republic for questions of agriculture. I will take up my post on 20 November." [passage omitted]

Professional Army Expected by Year 2000

LD0711212690 Prague CTK in English 1339 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 7 (CTK)—The strength of the Czechoslovak Army is to be reduced by 60,000 men and the share of professionals is to increase to 43 per cent by the year 1993, adviser to a Czechoslovak deputy defence minister Miroslav Purkrabak told journalists today.

By 1997, the share of professionals should rise to 60 per cent. Around the year 2,000 a larger army with 75 per cent of professionals or a smaller one (55,000-60,000) is assumed, 78 per cent professional, depending on the international situation.

On January 1, 1990, the Czechoslovak Army had 198,154 members, most of them doing their basic military service for 18 months (university graduates 12 months).

Purkrabek said that the rate at which the proportion of career soldiers in the armed forces will increase will depend on money available from the budget. Professional army does not mean a cheaper army. Each Czechoslovak citizen pays some 332 dollars for the army annually while a U.S. citizen pays about 1,204 dollars.

A mobile professional army would be in line with the newly created Czechoslovak military doctrine which is based on assumed defence of the whole of Czechoslovak territory without focusing on defence against a particularly enemy. Purkrabek defended the existence of the Army against the views that Czechoslovakia does not need it when it has no potential enemy. He said that Europe must have armed forces to be able to participate in the defence of peace and did not rule out the possibility of using the Army as a deterrent force in regional or national conflicts.

Czechoslovak Deputy Defence Minister for Education and Culture Antonin Rasek admitted that a professional army is also required by modernization because many soldiers in basic military service already have physical and psychological problems in the operation of equipment.

According to Purkrabek, the increased share of professionals in the Army and reduction of its strength depend on the development of the security situation in Europe.

Meciar Warns Cabinet To Approve Federation Bill

LD0811231890 Prague CTK in English 2248 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Kosice, East Slovakia, Nov 8 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar warned today that a failure of the federal cabinet to approve the bill on the Czechoslovak federation, defining the powers of federal and republic governments, would "give rise to a deep crisis and a shock from which it would be very difficult to recover".

At a press meeting here, Meciar was referring to today's debate of the bill by the federal cabinet, which was put off until later tonight. Tonight's cabinet session is presided over by Premier Marian Calfa who returned from a visit to East Slovakia, and the result is likely to be dislosed tomorrow.

Asked for the Slovak Government's stance if the federal cabinet fails to approve the bill, Meciar said it would support its own government program.

If the bill, which has already been approved by the Czech and Slovak Governments, is to become effective on January 1, 1991, it has to be presented to the federal parliament by November 20.

Referring to the recent disputes about the law enacting Slovak as the official language in Slovakia between the government and nationalists, Meciar said they had a negative impact on talks with European firms about the development of engineering enterprises in Slovakia, and cost Slovakia several thousand millions of marks as, he said, no one is going to invest money into a country which is politically unstable and unable to guarantee protection of investments.

SNS Supports Moric in Internal Party Struggle

AU0711083890 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Nov 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Slovak National Party (SNS) Backs Moric"]

[Text] Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party [SNS], enjoys the support of the SNS Central Council. This follows from a statement which the SNS Central Council adopted at its extraordinary session in Bratislava on Thursday [1 November]. Based on the "campaign launched against V. Moric in the Federal Assembly" [where several deputies proposed that Moric be stripped of his parliamentary immunity because of his signature under a petition questioning the legitimacy of the Slovak parliament and calling for civil disobedience] the SNS Central Council also fears acts of repression against deputies representing the opposition and expresses anxiety over the "fate of democracy in our state."

The Central Council also resents the form of disagreement with citizens who staged a hunger strike in front of the Slovak National Council building in protest against the approved language law. "A table full of food and beverages had been placed opposite the hunger strikers with assistance from the police. The Central Council regards this act as an inhuman provocation bordering on psychological terror and mockery of the noble aims of the hunger striking citizens."

The extraordinary session also took a stand on the statements by Slovak National Council deputy Anton Hrnko published in the media. According to the statement of the SNS Central Council, "deputy Hrnko caused damage to the interests of the SNS and attacked its representatives without justification. By doing so he betrayed his mandate as deputy for the SNS and the trust of his voters."

New Group of Slovak Nationalist Movements Set Up

AU0711220190 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Nov 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "National Front...."]

[Text] Bratislava— Some 2,000 people gathered yesterday at a rally of the National Salvation Front [Fronta narodni zachrany], which is a new name for the association of movements seeking to enforce the Slovak National Heritage Foundation's draft of the law on the enactment of an official language in the Slovak Republic.

Demands for a referendum on the official language, for the declaration of the Slovak Republic's sovereignty, and for the Slovaks' entry on the "list of UN countries" were raised at the rally.

Commentary Appeals to Slovak 'Silent Majority'

AU0711082990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Nov 90 p 3

[Peter Stolicny commentary: "The Paradoxes of October 1990"]

[Text] Nonpolitical policy, Havel-style, is beginning to concern us more and more intrinsically. It is becoming ever more necessary for the nation's silent majority to speak up and to cease being silent.

Only power structures from the past and their State Security can have any interest in the destabilization of today's society. It is incomprehensible, therefore, that people from the Slovak National Party [SNS]—such as Messrs. Panis and Moric, who are themselves deputies in the federal parliament—are calling for the abolition of our Slovak parliament which, like the federal one, was elected in the first free elections. What are these individuals—who are fanatical about the Slovak nation—after? Power? In this instance, their activity is more than irresponsible. Are the SNS leaders and other nationalistically oriented groups really interested in the Slovak

language? Their activity has the same effect as the bullet in Sarajevo and the fire in the "Reichstag." Is this activity not just an unscrupulous pretext to trample over democracy? The very same people who are now spitting at Czechs and Hungarians stood with them in the squares last December and promised them love. Instead of raising their fists, they raised their fingers in the v-for-victory sign. Do these people recognize the differences between those who lead them? How many loudmouths are there in Slovakia who, without thinking, accept every simple black and white idea? How many are there of the others....?

The majority of the Slovak people belong to the silent majority. They feel that the time for meetings has passed. The majority of Slovak people look into the future with hopes and fears. They ask questions such as: How can we become economically successful with the least possible pain and how can we preserve the nation's current cultural continuity? This silent majority considers racial and national intolerance to be stupid. The problems of Duray and Moric are medieval problems to them. The silent majority is angry at the loudmouths. The silent majority is made up of people who have their jobs and their families. They consider their families, their jobs, their wages, and their rest from work to be the most important things. They, therefore, do not raise their voice in opposition.

The silent majority is a society of people belonging to the future, a future in which policy will be made by the professional politicians to whom citizens will give their vote. Citizens will devote themselves to their work, family, and cultural amusements. This silent majority, however, is dangerous for the Slovak nation today. We have a great deal of evidence from the past about how the silent majority was trampled upon before it managed to catch its breath. The silent majority viewed the rise of fascism with skepticism. It permitted the brutal rise of the people's militias in 1948.

Unfortunately, it is necessary. The silent majority will have to rouse itself. It must make itself heard loud and clear. Our democracy is like a child which is learning to walk. It falls and bumps its nose. Let us not allow our child to be covered in blood.

Hunger Strikers Called Democracy 'Blackmailers'

AU0711083390 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Nov 90 p 2

[Petr Novacek commentary: "A Decisive 'No' to the Blackmailers"]

[Text] Democracy and anarchy have one thing in common: Everyone is free to air his own opinion. Yet, they differ radically in all other respects—first and foremost in the fact that in a democratic system the minority voluntarily subordinates itself to the opinion of the majority. In June, a majority—over 53 percent of the Slovak voters—gave their votes to the Public Against Violence movement, Christian Democratic Movement, and Democratic Party, who, as a governmental coalition, presented the draft law on the Slovak language which was passed in the Slovak National Council [SNR] last week. Yet, the adherents of the Slovak Heritage Foundation draft law, backed mostly by the Slovak National Party, a party that won only 14 percent of votes in June, refuse to subordinate themselves to the opinion of the majority. According to them the SNR deputies did not respect the will of the people—they acted undemocratically. This is why 84 people were on hunger strike in front of the council's building until yesterday.

On Tuesday [30 October] before midnight, President Havel came among the hunger strikers and tactfully, yet clearly, said to them: "This is a form of exerting pressure. Four months after the elections, the existence of the parliament, which was freely elected, is being doubted. This is a very dangerous game! Innumerable laws will have to be passed and each law will represent a step into the unknown. You will have a lot of objections against many of them, of course. If everyone who does not agree with a section of a new law exerts pressure on the representative bodies, however,then the deputies will become inoperative. Such a representative organ will not be able to pass any laws at all, and a vacuum will arise in which only a dictator may appear."

The 84 starving people have apparently decided to push the matter to the limits. They discontinued the hunger strike, yet on 8 November they will continue the strike if their demands are not met. Let us hope that the democratic majority will take the wind out of their sails. The proclamation of the Association of Political Parties, Movements and Organizations in the Slovak Republic, which calls for a social dialogue on all important problems, was followed by a similar appeal by the Federal Presidium from the same institution. Because it associates mostly parties and organizations which are not represented in parliament, this means that—after the Slavkov declaration made by the governing coalition—the opposition has also begun to defend democracy against political blackmailers. This is very pleasing and hopeful sign.

Strike Resumes 8 Nov

LD0811200290 Prague CTK in English 1619 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 8 (CTK)—Twenty-five Slovaks resumed today their hunger strike in front of the building housing the Slovak National Council (parliament), in protest against the law enacting Slovak as the official language and allowing minorities to use their languages in official contacts, passed on October 25.

The protesters suspended their strike on reconciliation day, November 1, a public holiday in Slovakia.

A spokesman for the hunger strkers said the strike was resumed after yesterday's failure by members of the Slovak Parliament's presidium, representatives of Matica Slovenska, the national cultural institution which

had presented its own language bill, discsriminating against the minorities, and of the hunger strikers to reach agreement on settling the issue in a public debate and a subsequent referendum.

Czechoslovak President Valcav Havel took the opportunity during his visit to Slovakia last week to tell the strikers that their protest was a pressure action and was not the best way of settling the issue.

The spokesman said that in contrast to the first stage of the strike when the protesters drank warm tea and took vitamins, they would now be taking only water.

Klaus Holds News Conference on OF Strategy

AU0711095090 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

["(mes)" -signed report: "A Shift in Practical Policy; V. Klaus on Civic Forum's (OF) Strategy"]

[Text] Prague— Vaclav Sedlacek is establishing himself as the number- two man in Civic Forum [OF]. At the OF's news conference on Friday [2 November], OF Chairman Vaclav Klaus said that Vaclav Sedlacek was the person who should represent the OF chairman in all internal matters. A final solution to the OF's personnel and organizational structure can be expected only from the upcoming republican assembly. V. Klaus explained that the OF's new line was not his work, but that it "reflects the shift in the views of the public, which made itself felt at the October OF Assembly." Apart from ideological changes, he also emphasized the attempt to significantly decentralize the movement and listen to the views of local OF groups. Replying to a question concerning the Left Alternative and the Revival club, he said that he sees "the OF's disruption from within as a greater danger to the movement than a threat from without."

Asked about the tense situation in Slovakia, the OF chairman attributed some of the blame to journalists who prefer to report on the acts of a "few loudmouths," while ignoring some information of a fundamental nature. Closer contacts with the Slovaks are necessary to eliminate a number of misunderstandings, which is why the OF organizes preelection rallies in Slovakia in support of the Public Against Violence Movement. Commenting on the Slovak premier's recent visit to Prague, Vaclav Klaus said that V. Meciar's proposals for a new arrangement of the federation's sphere of competence "were not acceptable for us." The main disputes have meanwhile been settled, and only questions concerning taxation and price policy and customs regulations remain unsolved.

The OF chairman described the preelection roundtables [on television] as a solution which is not very fortunate. "Television debates are meaningful only when different political concepts are presented in them and when the number of participants is kept small," he added. As far as the article in STREDOCESKY EXPRES is concerned [which claimed that the Charter 77 was established by the secret police so that Communists could stay in power after the regime's collapse], he noted wryly that "the pot boiled over and it is necessary to react," with both the OF as an organization and the incriminated persons filing lawsuits.

[A Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech report on the aforementioned news conference, published on 3 November, page 2, quotes Vaclav Sedlacek, head of the OF Coordinating Center, as saying that "the OF's paid staff comprises 350 people, 57 of them in Prague."]

Civic Forum on Left Alternative, Obroda Adherence

AU0811060290 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 6 (CTK)—Civic Forum (OF) spokesman Vladimir Zelezny said today that the OF Council resolution of October that the Left Alternative and the Obroda abandoned the Forum's political line and therefore were not considered a part of it was being misinterpreted, stating that it was not a decision but only a standpoint.

Zelezny said the Council's view is that a decision of such a significance can be made only by a Civic Forum Congress.

Meanwhile, new chairman of the group of Civic Forum deputies in parliament Jan Sokol said his opinion was that deputies for the Obroda and Left Alternative should remain in the Civic Forum group. Sokol replaced in this capacity Petr Kucera, one of the two members of the of Council who voted against the "expulsion" of the two groupings from the Civic Forum.

The Left Alternative seeks autonomous socialism while Obroda (Revival) associates former reform communists of the 1968 Prague Spring.

The group of Civic Forum deputies in the Czech parliament said last week that "the political spectrum of the Civic Forum should not be narrowed at present".

Brunner Suspects Destabilization 'Attacks'

AU0711091690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Nov 90 p 2

[Interview with Czech Prosecutor General Dr. Ludvik Brunner by Jan Subert; place and date not given: "An Attack Against the Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] There has recently been an increase in the number of acerbic attacks directed against the Prosecutor's Office. These attacks originate in local civic forums and contain demands for immediate and comprehensive purges within prosecutors' offices at the district, regional, and nationwide level. Considering that this increasingly effective pressure is beginning to have a

dangerous effect on decisionmaking activity in prosecutors' offices, we asked Czech Prosecutor General Dr. Ludvik Brunner for an interview on this subject.

[Subert] If the general public is to be objective in ascertaining the justifiability of those demands which have been made, it should know the truth about the situation within your office. What is this situation?

[Brunner] First, I will begin with the Prosecutor General's Office; of course, the office's chief, two of his deputies, and five of the eight department directors have been replaced. All regional prosecutors and eight of their deputies were appointed anew; this change has affected 70 of the 86 district prosecutors and 34 of their 82 deputies. This process is still continuing. Not one prosecutor who dealt with cases involving criminal activities against the Republic—the so-called first chapter of the law which was used against the totalitarian regime's political opponents—remains in the service today.

[Subert] In other words, there are no reasons for such an indiscriminate lack of trust....

[Brunner] This is exactly what I want to emphasize. There is a huge difference between complaints that this or that prosecutor is not behaving as he should and arbitrary attacks. We always look into specific complaints. What we cannot accept, however, is the principle of collective guilt.

[Subert] Are you sure that this principle is the predominant one in society's view of the prosecutor's office?

[Brunner] Many things suggest that it is. Various local civic forums—without possessing any information against specific people—are attempting to use their influence and bring about immediate changes. I personally feel that a deliberate attempt to destabilize state organs—apart from various personal attitudes—is behind these attacks.

[Subert] It is said that the most effective weapon against those who have no arguments and who shout a lot is not to listen....

[Brunner] This defense does not always work. The lack of trust in and the great pressure being placed on our office gives many prosecutors a feeling of existential uncertainty which is, of course, reflected in their work. All attacks have a negative effect on the offices' decisionmaking activities and weaken the execution of their duties.

[Subert] Is the radical demand for the immediate replacement of the prosecutors at all realistic?

[Brunner] It is not. As long as people push for such an extreme measure, the prosecutor's offices' work will be hampered. Throughout the country there is a critical shortage of qualified non-compromised lawyers, and the training of new ones entails many years. For example, it is not without interest that it took the "normalizers" four years to replace people. The last people to be struck off the register did not leave the state organs until 1974. It is paradoxical, therefore, to demand today something similar within a year. Moreover, I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of prosecutors welcomed the November revolution and want to serve a decent state.

[Subert] The lingering mistrust in the prosecutor's office springs from its previous association with various regional and district mafias and party bosses. Not every citizen is convinced that this has finished once and for all....

[Brunner] I want to assure the public that the time when the nomenklatura brotherhood influenced the prosecutor's office is truly over. We are trying to create an absolutely apolitical organ today out of our office, whose activity will be carried out in accordance with the law. Prosecutors must make decisions solely on the basis of their conscience and specialist knowledge without local influences.

The time has also come to an end when one state office passed the buck onto another office, when various joint measures, plans, and preventative measures were drafted, when nomenklatura bosses slapped each other on the shoulder, and when everyone guaranteed everything and no one answered for anything. Everyone has to begin being responsible for his own activity in accordance with the law. The only mission of the prosecutor's office is to make sure that the laws are obeyed and that offenders are dealt with effectively and quickly.

Soviets To Deliver 350,000 Tonnes of Crude Oil

LD0811174390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] The National Oil and Gas Industry Trust intends to obtain 350,000 tonnes of Soviet crude oil this month. Some 200,000 tonnes of this will be paid for in free currency, and 150,000 tonnes will come in the form of a barter deal with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will deliver 143,000 tonnes of crude oil to Hungary for rubles in December. The supplier of the 300,000 tonnes needed in addition to this will be chosen by the company at a competitive bidding.

CSFR Ambassador Comments on Minority Issue

AU0711084990 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 2 Nov 90 p 2

[Interview with CSFR Ambassador to Budapest Rudolf Chmel by Laszlo Szarka; place and date not given: "The Need for a New Philosophy"; first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] Since September 1990, the post of CSFR ambassador to Budapest has been filled by Rudolf Chmel, a literary historian, expert on Hungary, the former general secretary of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union, and the former director of the Literary Studies Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Many people expect Chmel to revive Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations, to place them on a new basis, and to initiate pressing steps.

[Szarka] During the past seven decades, Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations have mainly been marked by an excess number of moot points, rather than by positive elements. What is your present opinion on the relations between our two countries?

[Chmel] At present, both Hungary and Czechoslovakia find themselves in a situation where they have to review and reexamine most of the old and new issues which spark off disputes. Such issues include the Trianon Treaty, the Vienna Award, resettlements, or rather, changes in population, as well as national minorities, nationalism, the national issue, or even the Bos-Nagymaros project. [passage omitted]

[Szarka] Mr. Chmel, you probably know that the Hungarian public intently followed the debate in Bratislava about the language law. What is your opinion on the law that was passed?

[Chmel] In Hungary, people have become used to living in a country which is actually monolingual, and they do not really understand why it is necessary to implement a law which regulates the use of the official language. Yet it cannot be seen as entirely natural that an "oppressed" Slovak population should live in the multinational area of southern Slovakia; Slovaks living in this area do not have language equality, in actual fact. During his talks with President Arpad Goncz, Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko remarked upon this particular paradox, because, in fact, in certain parts of Southern Slovakia, the Slovaks actually constitute a minority. That is why I think that we can believe in the law passed on 25 October 1990, which refers to the official language, and which stipulates that "the enforcement of the official language should promote the development of the democratic process and culture of the Slovak nation as well as of the national minorities within the Republic of Slovakia, in the spirit of understanding, national tolerance, and humanity, as well as in the consolidation of the duties imposed by international human rights." [passage omitted]

[Szarka] In your opinion, is there a possibility of our two countries signing a bilateral agreement on national minorities in the near future?

[Chmel] When assessing this issue, either we will have to think realistically and accept reality—that is, try to remain realistic—or we will continue to chase unrealistic illusions. In any case, the issue of national minorities should definitely not become a subject of debate in either foreign or domestic policy. This is such an important array of questions that it could hardly be outlined within the framework of an interview; indeed, we are in a situation where we cannot really make a theoretical or practical distinction between ethnic, national, national minority, and state identity, whether it be at present or in the past. That is precisely why I do not think that the possibility of our signing some kind of bilateral national minority agreement within the foreseeable future is very realistic.

European Norms

[Szarka] In your opinion, which fundamental principles should both sides base themselves on in order to approach this question in a constructive way?

[Chmel] The national minority issue has become the subject of historical and journalistic skirmishes. The truth is that the postwar situation was unfavorable for national minorities; indeed, the issue became such a burden that individual states tried to free themselves of this problem, and they did not always proceed in the most humane way. Shortly afterwards—to the great misfortune of us all—there followed the era of the proclamation of proletarian internationalism, and, in fact, in the wide embrace of internationalism, there was no room even for nations, not to mention national minorities. So, today we are supposed to take a quick and efficient stance on all these issues, including industrialization, internal migration of the work force, and neglected schools, among other things. Hurried solutions for problems which have dragged on for decades will not, however, help in this case; only the exact compliance by the European norms that have officially been acknowledged by both our states could help in this case. It would, of course, also be important to take into account the authentic opinions and standpoints of national minority representatives. In my opinion, this approach is the one

that would enable us to further our accession to Europe; mutual mudslinging will not help (indeed, in this respect, the answers given to the question of the Slovak national minority living in Hungary, for example, begs more exclamation marks than the issue of the Hungarian national minority in Slovakia.) In other words, the whole issue requires a carefully thought-out approach which is patient and comprehensive.

Goncz Interviewed on Upcoming Visit to ROK

SK0811033090 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean 5 Nov 90 p 5

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by correspondent Choe Maeng-ho; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] "Speaking from an anthropological point of view, Korea and Hungary are the same. It therefore seems as if I will be visiting a relative, because we not only have economic and diplomatic relations but we are close sentimentally and have many things in common." President Arpad Goncz expressed this opinion upon his upcoming visit to Korea on 14 November. President Goncz, who will visit Korea following his visit to Japan, emphasized that Korea and Hungary are of the same national descent. He said: "Moreover, Korea is playing an important role in the world's economic circle; from this position, Hungary is overflowing with joy because it seems that a relative has succeeded. Also, we can proudly talk about Korea to Third World countries."

On the purpose of his trip to Korea, he said, "This trip is in the form of a return visit in accordance with President No Tae-u's visit to Hungary; however, I am primarily going to Korea to learn about Korea." He said that the reason is that, "because Korea rapidly overcame difficulties after the war and achieved economic development, I believe that there will be many things to learn."

[Choe] Are there any plans to promote relations between the two countries?

[Goncz] It is especially significant that Hungary was the first among the Eastern European countries to establish diplomatic relations with Korea. When we established diplomatic relations, North Korea criticized us by saying that we were giving up socialism; North Korea had also summoned its ambassador to Hungary.... Our relations with North Korea have become aggravated. It seems that North Korea is regarding us as enemies. When I go to Korea I want to have sincere talks on economic cooperation. I will, therefore, be accompanied by many experts from the economic field.

[Choe] In what field do you hope to achieve cooperation?

[Goncz] I want to have many joint investments. This is because it will be of mutual interest. Exchanges are also being promoted in the cultural field. There have been many exchanges in the music field. What is sad is that Hungary has close relations with countries such as Korea and Japan which are far away, but not with our neighboring countries.

[Choe] What are your prospects for changes in North Korea?

[Goncz] I cannot give details, but I hope that a time for reform will come in North Korea in the near future. [passage omitted]

Goncz Leaves for Tour of Japan, South Korea

LD0811155290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] President Arpad Goncz has left on a tour of the Far East. He will attend the official inauguration ceremony of Japanese Emperor Akihito. President Goncz will hold talks with political and economic leaders in South Korea and he will visit several Korean industrial firms which already have close relations with Hungarian enterprises.

Government, Parties, MP's Hold Closed Talks

LD0811112990 Budapest MTI in English 1036 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 7 (MTI)—A series of talks was launched on Wednesday afternoon between the government, parliamentary parties and representatives of independent MPs [members of parliament]. The talks are to centre on the priorities and pace of the legislative process.

Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo informed MTI about the talks taking place behind closed doors. In compliance with the prime minister's Tuesday proposal, participants will discuss the legislative tasks in store for parliament in the rest of the year. The government intends these talks to be the starting point of a permanent working relationship between itself and the National Assembly. The government and the parliamentary parties agreed that the government should further reduce the list of bills it wishes to include on parliament's agenda before the end of the year. The former number of 34 was cut down to 23 at the beginning of the current talks but the parliamentary parties are requesting a further reduction. A final list of the bills to be discussed will be issued by the government at its regular session on Thursday and will be submitted to parliament's house committee on Thursday afternoon.

Mazowiecki, Moczulski's Campaigns Viewed

PM0811140590 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22 Oct 90 pp 1-2

[Dariusz Lanocha and Jerzy Sadecki article: "Presidential Campaign. Tadeusz Mazowiecki: 'What Matters Is Not Which Person Gets Elected but the Future of Democracy'"]

[Excerpt] "In a few weeks each of us will face having to make a decisive choice," Tadeusz Mazowiecki said last Saturday [20 October] during the election meeting held at Poznan University's Great Hall. "We do not yet know what powers the future president will wield, which gives us all the more reason not to promise too much to the electorate. Do not allow yourselves to be swayed by emotions as you make your choice. Choose only after serious deliberation, for the mythical 'they' are no longer there and now it is us who make up Poland and who will decide its future." Tadeusz Mazowiecki also met with farmers from Sroda Wielkopolska and neighboring parishes. In the course of his talks with the farmers he said: "The farmer must know what lies ahead and what he can expect in the future. Consequently, stability of agricultural policy is our most important consideration here."

In answer to repeated questions about his view of Lech Walesa, Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated as follows: "I have never forgotten that it was he who suggested that I should assume the office of prime minister. I hope that he will not forget, either, that a number of people—including myself—helped him to become what he is today."

Yesterday, in Warsaw University's Great Hall, Tadeusz Mazowiecki met with activists of local election committees which are organizing and running his presidential campaign. Organizational matters constituted the major topic of the discussions. In addition, Mazowiecki came out with the following declaration: "I decided to run for president because I am convinced that what really matters in it is not which candidate is elected but the future of democracy in Poland."

Leszek Moczulski in Krakow: "Let People, Not the State, Get Rich"

"For the time being I am still only a candidate for a presidential candidate, but I believe it is only a matter of days before I collect the required number of supporting signatures," the leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], Leszek Moczulski, confided yesterday as he assessed his chances in the presidential campaign. Some 800 Krakovians came to hear him at meetings held at the Nowa Huta Culture Center and the Krakow Philharmonic Hall. The KPN has its faithful partisans, and this was attested to yesterday by the reactions of Leszek Moczulski's Krakow audiences: They greeted individual points of their candidate's election program with enthusiastic applause. What are these points?

"My program contains seven points in which I offer my own vision of Poland as a truly democratic and independent state, a state of a strong economy and wealthy people," the KPN leader told us.

Let us take a closer look at the seven priorities identified by Moczulski. The first one introduces the imperative to restore the state's independent status ("the present Polish Republic [PPR] is a continuation of the Polish People's Republic, just barely concealed under a humbug name; in effect, it remains an essentially totalitarian structure") on the basis of the April 1935 Constitution. This move, by virtue of which the PPR will be finally declared void, will safeguard Poland against any liability for its legal and financial obligations in respect of the whole outside world. The second point of the program argues the need to restore and repair the nation's moral condition ("We must bring communists to account, albeit in accordance with the law, so that it can be a warning to present and future rulers"), whereas the third point stipulates the implementation of fundamental economic reforms. This envisages a speedy and determined departure from all those leftist concepts favored in the Balcerowicz program and the adoption of all the rules of the genuinely free market, where the working people will have incomparably more money. "Production is decreasing at an alarming rate because people cannot afford to buy the goods which are already in the market. When we give them the money, the spiral of economic turnover will become activated," Leszek Moczulski claimed, at the same time declaring that as a future president he would implement an economic program designed to guarantee that in some two or three years the average wage will amount to $2 or $3 per hour.

"If, however, we want to give the money to the people, we must take it away from the state, and this can be achieved only through a determined reduction of taxes. And there is nothing to fear there, because it is fundamentally wealthy society which makes a wealthy state," Leszek Moczulski declared in conclusion of a summary of his economic ideas.

The remaining points of his program are as follows: the need to protect and encourage the development of agriculture; salvage and restore the good ecological condition of the environment and the health of the nation; change the orientation in Poland's foreign policy ("liberation from Soviet totalitarianism is not necessarily tantamount to submission to diktats imposed by any other country"); finally, giving the younger generation a chance by offering them positions of responsibility in the government and state administration ("after all, it is they who will build the new Poland and make decisions about its future").

In reply to questions from the floor during both meetings, Moczulski told Krakovians that, should he become president, he would most probably appoint someone from Solidarity as his prime minister; that it was high time for Walesa to prepare a definite election program of his own, since he could not count on such a program

being offered to him on a platter by 38 million politically divided compatriots; that, as a professed and practicing Catholic, Leszek Moczulski was against abortion; finally, that the church should not involve itself in politics.

"Which candidate would you support in the second round of the election in the event you did not make it in the first round?" he was asked during the Nowa Huta meeting.

"I will support the candidate who can guarantee implementation of the largest number of the recommendations stipulated by the KPN." [passage omitted]

Candidates Comment on 'Election Studio' Program

LD0711211390

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Russian at 1125 GMT on 7 November carries a 24-minute "Election Studio" program. Each candidate's time limit lasts approximately four minutes.

The first two candidates to speak are Tyminski and Cimoszewicz.

Lech Walesa follows, with excerpts from a speech he delivered in Olsztyn. He speaks on his theme of Poland having to do things together, of Poles having to solve their problem together.

Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki speaks next:

"I would be afraid of wasting what has been achieved in this year, I would be afraid that this difficult effort, the public's enormous patience will be wasted. I would also be afraid if we are going to be seen as a country which is unpredictable, which cannot be gauged because Poland, in my opinion, will play a role in this new European architure when it is going to be important, sensible, and calculable.

"In my opinion the issue of greater involvement by the public, the people, in all these changes is an incredibly important matter. Local government, the creation of local government is such an enormous plane of involvement of people.

"The second issue is privatization and the activization of the economy. I am counting on it very much, that it will draw people. Examples are needed. It is not a question of making some kind of exemplary campaign but people should at least see that there are new signs, new firms, new shops, that something is happening, that something important is happening.

"A change in psychology is also necessary and I think this is already taking place. Thus I think—it is difficult—that it could not be carried out in a year. This is a change in mentality to really believe that not everything can be solved by the government. After all, one of the principles of this government is to reduce state intervention, but at the same time that state which is transforming itself, which is no longer the citizen's enemy, is a citizens' state and cannot be a weak state, helpless, an abused state, which no one takes into consideration. It must be a respected state. The state institutions must be respected.

"I believe that the worst is behind us if we are talking about inflation. (?I would not like to allow) a return to inflation. I still have not have that conviction if we are talking about the fight against recession. I am still not convinced that the new external difficulties which are going on at the same time will not result in us still having a difficult period. Sometimes many of the results still ca not be seen. Later they start to accumulate. Thus I still think it is difficult, we are still in the middle of this passage through this difficult situation. At this very midway point we have to make these difficult choices. That is why it is good if we are going to look for ways out, if we are going to assess critically. However it will not be good if we are going to promise solutions too easily to problems which everyone in Poland wants. I undertook to tell the truth."

In the time allowed for Roman Bartoszcze, the Polish Peasant party candidate, Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, chairman of the Christian Democrat Labor Party talks about the divergence of certain aspects of their parties programs and his support for Bartoszcze.

The last candidate to speak is Leszek Moczulski.

Mazowiecki, Others Hold Electoral Meetings

LD0811234290 Warsaw PAP in English 2313 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Slubice, 8 Nov—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, running for president, today held an electoral meeting in Slubice on the Polish-German after meeting with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Mazowiecki stated: We are in the midst of drawing up a treaty with Germany. The first talks have already been held and now we have decided to intensify them so that the treaty on good-neighbourly relations between Poland and Germany could be signed by the end of January. We want this treaty to be tabled to the Polish and German parliaments for ratification in February. The treaty will secure the Polish-German border. It will also contain the principles of economic cooperation with Germany, especially in the border regions.

Warsaw: Presidential candidate Stanislaw Tyminski today campaigned in the Kasprzak electronics works in Warsaw. Asked who he would choose to run the government were he elected president, Tyminski said that thus far he found no one competent enough to be entrusted with this office.

The candidate also said that in the air traffic era every country could be Poland's neighbour but that good economic relations were necessary with the geographical neighbours, especially the USSR.

Meeting inhabitants of the Ursynow housing estate in Warsaw Tyminski lashed out at the economic reform now under way in Poland, particularly the Balcerowicz programme.

Suwalki: "One cannot bring down programs to the words of 'freedom' and 'independence'," stated leader of the PSL Polish Peasant Party Roman Bartoszcze at an electoral meeting with farmers and PSL activists from northern and eastern regions in Elk.

"Despite numerous promises, there still is no program of agrarian policy. Let us now allow ourselves to be cheated any longer and give in to the allures of colourful products on our market as we are already running short of food while its prices are growing. I think we need Polish groats more than Western raisins. We need to set up our own market basing on our own production," Bartoszcze said.

*** Presidential Election Amendment Law Published**

91EP0062Y Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No. 67, 2 Oct 90, Item No. 397 p 933

[Text of Law, Item No. 397, governing changes to the Constitution, dated 27 September]

[Text] Article 1. The following amendments are incorporated in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (Dz.U., No. 7, Item 36, 1976; No. 22, Item 81, 1980; No. 11, Item 83, 1982; No. 39, Item 175, 1983; No. 14, Item 82, 1987; No. 19, Item 129, 1988; No. 19, Item 101, and No. 75, Item 44, 1989; and No. 16, Item 94, and No. 29, Item 171, 1990):

1) In Article 32a:

a) Paragraphs 1-3 are reworded as follows:

"1. The President is elected by the Nation.

"2. The President is elected for five years and may be re-elected to only one more term.

"3. Any Polish citizen who has completed 35 years of age and has full rights to vote in Sejm elections may be elected to the Presidency."

b) The following Paragraph 5 is added:

"5. The election of the President is ordered by the Speaker of the Sejm not earlier than four months and not later than three months before the expiration of the term of office of the current President, and in the event the office of the President is vacated, not later than 14 days after said office is vacated, upon designating the date of the election on a day within two months from the date the election is ordered. The election is held on a non-work day."

2) In Article 32b:

a) Paragraph 1 is reworded as follows:

"1. The Speaker of the Sejm convenes the Sejm and the Senate combined into the National Assembly with the object of:

"1) Affirming the validity of the election and receiving the oath from the newly elected president.

"2) Recognizing the permanent inability of the President to exercise his duties owing to the state of his health.

"3) Considering the question of impeaching the President before the Tribunal of State."

b) Paragraphs 2, 4, and 5 are deleted.

3) In Article 32c, in the first sentence, the word "pledge" is replaced with the word "oath" and the expression "by the will of the National Assembly" is deleted and the twice employed expression "I pledge myself" is replaced with the expression "I swear."

4) The heading of Chapter 8 is changed as follows:

"Rules for the Elections to the Sejm, to the Senate, and to the Presidency."

5) In Article 94 the following Paragraph 3 is added:

"3. Elections of the President are universal, direct, and popular, with the balloting to be secret."

6) In Article 100 the expression "and for the President" is added each time after "the senators."

7) Article 102 is reworded as follows:

"Article 102. The procedure for nominating the candidates and conducting the elections of deputies, senators, and the President is defined by the corresponding laws."

Article 2.1. The term of office of the President of the Republic of Poland who was elected by the National Assembly on 19 July 1989 is subject to being shortened and expires once a President elected by popular vote takes office.

2.2. The first popular elections of the President will be ordered by the Speaker of the Sejm not later than within two months from the effective date of this Decree, upon designating Election Day on a legal holiday that occurs within two months from the date the elections are ordered.

Article 3. This Decree takes effect on the day of its publication.

President of the Republic of Poland: W. Jaruzelski

Geremek Resigns From Parliamentary Group Post

LD0811211890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group, submitted his resignation at today's plenary meeting of the floor group.

His resignation was accepted. The candidate to the post of chairman is Sejm Deputy Mieczyslaw Gil, a Solidarity activist in the Nowa Huta metallurgical complex.

General Miners' Strike Threatened for 20 Nov

LD0711220790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Interview with Andrzej Lipko, chairman of the Solidarity National Mining Commission, by unidentified report in Gdansk; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] A stormy debate within the Solidarity National Mining Commission ended a moment ago. Here is its chairman, Andrzej Lipko.

You have made a fairly risky decision. On 20 November, mining crews will engage in a general strike.

[Lipko] Yes, a general strike, except that the decision regarding the form and method of conducting this protest will be made on 16 November.

[Reporter] Which means that at the moment, the chairman and the delegates have to consult their workforces, conduct a referendum, draw on opinions, etc.

[Lipko] We will find out how many are up to it, who accept our form of protest, since, as we know, two mines have unequivocally spoken out against it. [passage omitted]

Primary National Trade Unions Examined

AU0711095690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jan Forowicz and Janusz R. Kowalczyk: "The Trade Union Map"]

[Text] The "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union was born out of the 1980 strikes. The leaders of this strike, Lech Walesa and Marian Jurczyk, became leaders of a union that emerged victorious from an eight-year struggle. After that, the leaders of the independent trade union went their separate ways, and only Walesa's "Solidarity" became a major social force, second in size to Polish Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] which emerged after martial law.

After more than one year of uninhibited "Solidarity" activity, Walesa's rival Jurczyk is once again leader of the still-unregistered "Solidarity 80," the third largest trade union in Poland, which is now entering into an alliance with the first, i.e. the OPZZ.

The OPZZ

The OPZZ has 29,253 factory cells. In the middle of 1990, the number of people belonging to them was 4,919,660, of whom 690,099 were pensioners.

The OPZZ consists of national trade unions and trade union federations. Right now there are 127 national trade unions, the largest of which is the teachers' union, with about 550,000 members. The federation of agricultural workers numbers 400,000 members. The federation of miners and federation of building workers each have almost 360,000 members each. The federation of metal workers has 279,000 members. The smallest national trade union is the union of social and state employees, some of whose cells in work places only consist of a dozen or so members, and are thus an insignificant force in negotiations.

The OPZZ possesses a mixed structure. Apart from trade union federations, there are voivodship trade union confederations. An attempt was made at the June congress to consolidate these voivodship confederations and turn them into the chief trade union forces in the field, but four months after the congress there is no sign of any consolidation.

Hence, the trade union federations are dominant. Their head offices are in several of the largest cities. Their influence extends to factory cells scattered all over the country. For example, the Federation of Trade Unions of Employees in the Light Industry, with its head office in Lodz, coordinates the work of trade unions in this industry between Bialystok and Jelenia Gora. There is a tendency to merge trade union federations and national trade unions that are related in scope. Thus, in the "maritime economy" there are only three trade union federations, whereas there used to be four. In mining there is a similar trend. The OPZZ claims to recognize only Western standards whereby only a union with 300,000 or more members constitutes a serious force in negotiations.

Others

About 1.3 million trade unionists belong neither to "Solidarity 80" nor to the OPZZ. We were told that this estimated number is the result of deals struck by voivodship trade union bodies under the rule of the OPZZ. There are no concrete data.

"Others" have not formed and do not intend to form a third "trade union authority." By the end of 1980, there was still no national trade union in this category of "others."

The "others" include the Trade Union of LOT Polish Airlines Employees in Warsaw, and the Trade Union of "Ponar" Employees. Following a referendum among its members, this Poznan factory trade union decided to join the "others," but still retained the "Solidarity" label in its name.

The number of "others" is rising. Four trade union federations have broken away from the OPZZ and joined this group recently. They include a 1,300-strong union of miners and 900-strong union of bank employees.

We discovered in the Warsaw Voivodship Court that several hundred independent trade unions have been registered already. They include the Trade Union of Railroad Engineers and the Independent and Self-Governing Union of Policemen. Many other such unions are awaiting registration.

"Solidarity 80"

"There are contacts at factory level between 'Solidarity 80' and the OPZZ," said "Solidarity 80" deputy chairman Stanislaw Kocjan. "They are discreet because we believe it is necessary to eradicate the divisions that have come about due to ambition. The OPZZ is looking for a moral boost, and that is what we are giving its members by holding these contacts."

"Solidarity 80" estimates its membership figure to be 120,000. That is the number of people who have satisfied the conditions for membership, though even those who do not pay their dues will be included when the Second Congress of "Solidarity 80" is held after the union has been registered. According to Lech Kaczynski, deputy chairman of Walesa's "Solidarity," the Western Pomeranian chapter consists of 25,000 "Solidarity 80" members and 55,000 Walesa "Solidarity" members.

Apart from Szczecin, the greatest concentrations of "Solidarity 80" occur in the Mazowsze chapter (about 15,000 members), followed by the Silesia-Dabrowa chapter, East Prussia-Mazury chapter, the western portion of Pilsk Voivodship, the Lubusz territory, and the traditional strongholds of Kielce and Radom. The southeastern part of Poland contains more "Solidarity 80" members. In appreciation of this fact, the next meeting of the "Solidarity 80" National Coordinating Commission will be held in Tarnow.

The largest "Solidarity 80" factory cell is in the "Gryfia" repair shipyard in Szczecin. Out of the 2,500 employees here, 1,700 belong to "Solidarity 80" and only a trace belong to Walesa's "Solidarity" and the OPZZ.

The "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union.

Lech Kaczynski, deputy chairman of the "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union, told us that the union now has 2,306,000 registered members, of whom 500,000 joined after the Second "Solidarity" Congress in April. The union consists of 20,800 factory committees, which are grouped into 38 chapters

The largest chapter is Silesia-Dabrowa, with 260,000 members. Until recently, the second largest chapter was Lower Silesia, but a new chapter was formed out of it, the Copper Mining Region Chapter, in Legnica Voivodship, with the result that the Lower Silesian Chapter suddenly lost 60,000 members and fell to fourth place. In second and third place are the Mazowsze and Malopolska Chapters with 200,000 members each. In fifth place is the Gdansk chapter, with 100 members. Last place is shared by three chapters: Chelm, Leszno, and Slupsk, each with about 10,000 members. The largest "Solidarity" factory committee is in the Sendzimir Steelworks (formerly the Lenin Steelworks) in Krakow, and the copper mining combine in Lubin.

Marian Krzaklewski, chairman of the National Coordinating Commission of "Solidarity" Industrial Sections, reckons that 30 to 40 percent of all "Solidarity" members belong to these sections, the largest of which are the mining section, with between 90,000 and 100,000 members, and the railwaymen's section, with between 80,000 and 90,000 members. Following the creation of a joint branch secretariat, the metalworkers and dockers branches will each have 100,000 members. The health service employees section and teachers section are very active. They each have between 40,000 and 60,000 members.

Planned Auctioning of Party Press Organs Noted

AU0511091990 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 90 p 1

[Jozef Szewczyk report: "The Press for Sale"]

[Text] The settlement of scores with the party press is coming to a close. As of 0300 [0200 GMT] on 30 October, most of the press of the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] will be going on the block. First of all, it will be possible to purchase ZYCIE WARSZAWY for 40 billion zlotys (Z), slightly over $4 million. After that, EXPRESS WIECZORNY, SZTANDAR MLODYCH, DZIENNIK BALTYCKI, and DZIENNIK LODZKI will be for sale. TRYBUNA will also be for sale.

The Polish Government has decided to auction off 107 newspapers and magazines, hand over another 70 titles to journalists cooperatives, and hand three titles over to the state treasury. A similar fate awaits other components of the defunct Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW]. The state will take over the whole of distribution, nine printing presses, the Central Photographic Agency, and part of INTERPRESS. Eleven printing presses will be put up for auction, and five will be handed to cooperatives.

That in a nutshell is what the penultimate stage of the liquidation of the PZPR press involves. By the time individual titles go to private and cooperative hands, they will have enriched the state treasury to the tune of Z260 billion in the first half of the year. Now anyone will be receive a share of this money—individuals, companies, political parties, and foreign shareholders. The entire process is meant to guarantee the independence of the Polish press and create a modern private press market.

The auction will take place according to generally accepted principles, to which the provisions of the Abolition of Cooperatives Act have been added. Following the publication of offers in the press, the RSW Liquidation Commission will gather these offers, check them, lay down purchase conditions, and then organize the auction.

So far 20 foreign firms have said they want to buy dailies, weeklies, printing presses, and distribution operations. Talks with another 15 firms are underway. They include such big names as Maxwell, Murdoch, Priab, Philip Morris, and Kodak. Polish banks, entrepreneurs, and parties are also competing.

Those titles that generate the greatest profits, living off advertising, are the ones in which interest is the greatest. For example, potential customers like Maxwell, Wierzbanski, and the Italians are interested in buying ZYCIE WARSZAWY. There is also no shortage of people interested in the regional press.

Cooperatives and companies consisting of journalists and newspaper employees may also bid for press titles. Cooperatives will have priority in acquiring a title if they offer the same price as other customers.

The law does not foresee any appeals, and the government's decisions are final.

Commentary Cites Criteria for Press Ownership

AU0411190590 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 90 p 2

[Leszek Spalinski commentary: "Privatization"]

[Text] Politicians have their reasons; the press is a mighty weapon and careful use of this resource can lay the foundations of political success. That is why it was so important to eliminate the political influence of the former [Communist] Party's [publishing] concern, and no efforts were spared to get this point over to the general public.

Furthermore—and the politicians have maintained silence on this—the press is also business, big business. It can be a profitable business if one possesses the basic skills necessary to run it. When the political haggling died down and when attention focused on this issue, it became quite apparent that one would have to look at the achievements of the Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW] Liquidation Commission in a completely different light. At the beginning of 1990, the RSW concern was heading for total financial collapse. Six months after the RSW Liquidation Commission became active, it is still difficult to argue that business is booming, there is, however, a 246-billion-zloty profit. Similarly, after operating in the red ZYCIE WARSZAWY has again become a profitable paper. In my opinion we also have to take into consideration the changes, including personnel changes, that have taken place in the Polish newspaper industry in the past few months.

We are now facing massive privatization; a search for prospective owners for the various publications, and other affiliatess of the former monolith. There is no shortage of people willing to purchase titles, whole staffs, and buildings. Polish, as well as foreign capital, is very interested, so are the current editorial teams. In light of this situation, it would appear simple to sell the individual newspaper titles on the market. He who pays most, will take possession. Well, the whole thing is not as simple as it looks. Aside from legal aspects which go beyond economic implications, it is worthwhile to mention that not every potential purchaser—even though he may have the required capital—can guarantee the paper's survival. The absence of a true capital market on the other hand, makes it very difficult to estimate the true value of the property on sale.

Any new decisions should be based not only on the prospective purchasers' capital reserves, but also on their ability to run a successful business. Knowledge of the current Polish publishing scene, as well as past achievements also should be valued. During the process of submitting bids, the preferences of specific editorial teams should be taken into account. The simple rule should be: You do not get a good paper without a good team of journalists. I cannot deny that—as great many of my colleagues—I would like to make something out of this privatization process, and would like to be a co-owner of the paper I work for. Other colleagues are only interested in working for a good paper, that is, a newspaper that pays well.

If we ignore the political questions, from the economic point of view there is no point in delaying the sale process. The sooner the appropriate decisions are made, the quicker the Polish press industry will start to function normally.

Kohl, Mazowiecki Welcomed in Border Town

LD0811172690 Hamburg DPA in German 1712 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] [no dateline as received] Kohl and Mazowiecki were enthusiastically received by many hundreds of people in the small border town of Slubice. The people cheered Kohl and Mazowiecki. Shouts of "Helmut, Helmut" and "Bravo, Helmut" rang out again and again.

Cooperation With UAE in Oil Industry

AU0811152390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1438 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/11/1990—Romania and the United Arab Emirates [UAE] agreed to cooperate in the oil and petrochemical industries, in investment, transport and communications and, related to that, to form a joint commission.

The agreement was announced by Muhammad Khalifah al-Kindi, minister for public works and dwellings of the United Arab Emirates, after talks in Abu Dhabi with a Romanian governmental delegation headed by Doru Pana, minister of public works, transport and physical planning.

Al-Kindi told journalists the talks had centered on the proposals made by the Romanian side for cooperation in the oil and petrochemical industries and for Romania importing crude from the United Arab Emirates, that it would refine, selling oil products on third markets. [sentence as received]

Vatasescu Meets IBRD Delegation Leader

AU0811160390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1635 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/11/1990—On Thursday Mr. Anton Vatasescu, secretary of state charged with industrial and trade activities, met Mr. Farid Dhanji, head of the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] experts delegation, now on a visit in Romania. The delegation was informed about the present state of the Romanian economy, the 30 IBRD experts gathered data and will draw a report thereof which will be presented to all the member countries of the World Bank. The report will propose investments in various branches of our economy which will be supported through credits and assistance programs.

Also present was Mr. Teodor Stolojan, finance minister.

Iliescu Leaves for Japan Coronation Ceremony

AU0811152190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1440 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/11/1990—On Thursday afternoon President Ion Iliescu left for Tokyo to attend coronation festivities in Japan.

Iliescu Interviewed on Current 'Crisis'

AU0811145390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2046 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Radio relay of Romanian Television Network interview with President Ion Iliescu by unidentified reporter on "Face the Nation" program in Bucharest on 7 November—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, with your permission, I will go straight to the point, which is the crisis we are facing. As you know, among the various forms of contesting power, there have also recently been some unauthorized and quite noisy demonstrations with chanting. Apart from the chant, "The government has forsaken us," there have been such chants as, "Away with them"; "Down with the communist government"; and, "Down with Iliescu." The fact that they chanted, "Down with the government" can be understood somehow, because the decisions are made by the government, but why did they chant, "Down with Iliescu?" Are you in any way involved with, for instance, the recent government decision on price liberalization?

[Iliescu] I will refer to four aspects of the complaints you have mentioned. First, I believe that this reflects the old mentality. Those who stir up such manifestations in the name of democracy—either in writing or through street demonstrations—are thinking in accordance with the old mentality. Everything that happens in this country is associated with the one who is at the top of the pyramid, even though we no longer have a pyramid system. We have given up the centralized system of managing our political, social, and economic life and have adopted the system of the separation of powers. The mentality, however, has stayed the same, even in the case of people who were against the former system and now accuse those people of neocommunism who have been directly involved with, have done, and are doing more than anyone else to bring about the country's democratic development and promote the new development system in our country.

Second, we have to note that these forms of contesting power, including the slogans, are identical to those before the elections. That is, there are forces and circles which have preserved this mentality of electoral confrontation. There are people who, before the election, made tremendous efforts to stop the election and the participation in it of certain representatives, people who still have this mentality after the elections, which included the stimulation of violent confrontation in mid-June. They are trying to capitalize on situations of dissatisfaction and tension in our life to once again stimulate and instigate violent confrontations. I also want to emphasize the completely nondemocratic—or rather antidemocratic—nature of actions and manifestations that contest democratic bodies which were elected just a few months ago in May.

All of us voted for a democratic and multiparty system, for free elections, for the organization—on the basis of elections—of democratic institutions, and now they come up with a delayed contestation of these democratically elected institutions. They are contesting the choice made by the great majority of enterprises, the elected institutions, which have a precise term of two years—Parliament with its two chambers, the presidency, the government, which was appointed by the presidency, and the parliamentarians, who have very specific (?tasks). We have a two-year mandate, time in which we

want to work out the new Constitution. We have to revise all our laws, and the government has very difficult tasks to fulfill—for example, the economic reform and the solution of social problems. Then why is there this lack of patience instead of lending a helping hand to those who have been given this mandate and who have assumed a great deal of responsibility at a time of social crisis so they can fulfill their obligation? This shows a lack of a sense of social and national responsibility with regard to the difficult situation our country is facing, which, in fact, needs concerted efforts from us all. Unfortunately, immature people—young people, children—are being manipulated and used in a disloyal political game which in no way benefits our country's national interests.

As a fourth aspect in connection with these actions and with the slanted coverage we receive in part of our press, which confuses criticism with slander, denigration, and invective, I want to point out that they have nothing to do with each other. Social criticism is necessary and useful. The confrontation between different ideas should be encouraged, so we can all orient ourselves and correct our line. Fanning invective and slander and the poisoning of the social atmosphere, however, can only hamper this activity. Then [words indistinct] of those who promote invectives and slanders, it is they who speak of attempts to suppress opinions and criticism and of not accepting dialogue and criticism.

What is meant by the dialogue and criticism in this tenor promoted by a certain press?

[Reporter] I understand. Your answer is also very peremptory; however, linked to it I also want to ask you the following: What is your attitude, as president, toward the recent government decision regarding price liberalization? To explain my question: Lately there has been talk that you have a certain kind of detached attitude, while the foreign press even talks about an Iliescu-Roman disagreement. Practically speaking, how involved are you in the current developments in Romania?

[Iliescu] I am involved exactly within the context of legal provisions and the election law, which incorporates constitutional elements in connection with the function and tasks of the president; therefore, without being able to get directly involved in the activity of the executive bodies, I, as president, cannot be indifferent to the progress of activities. From this point of view, there is a constant contact between legislative bodies, with the presidents of the two chambers of Parliament, and with the government leadership with a view to briefing each other. From this point of view, therefore, there cannot be a political detachment of President Iliescu from Prime Minister Roman; there is communication and mutual understanding, and I personally support the efforts of this government which has committed itself to a very complicated and difficult task. I believe that all of us need a framework of aid and support for these efforts which cannot materialize without the broad support on behalf of all decisionmaking, political, and social bodies.

[Reporter] Mr. President, everyone is talking about the need to set free prices as a decisive step toward a market economy. The moment the government announced its intention to proceed to this measure, the opposition even claimed to be the author of this idea. I think that a consensus was finally reached so the state administration decision would win broader support. This did not happen; the opposition is essentially contesting the government's decision. You, in your position as head of state, have to work above the parties and the government; from this point of view, how do you explain the situation that has arisen?

[Iliescu] I would like to dwell on this problem at length considering the concerns of the public, and the fact that this price liberalization measure gives birth to disquiet because one effect of it is increased prices for some products. First, as it can rightfully be noted, price liberalization is a component and compulsory part of the economic reform and of the transition process toward a market economy. Without setting prices on real economic bases to reflect production costs and stop arbitrary practices, which were used so far, and without a confrontation of prices on the market and the interplay of demand and supply, one cannot talk about a market-oriented economy.

Despite all this, as you also noted, until recently certain political groups and forces accused the government of delaying and dragging its feet....

[Reporter] ...that it is not bold enough....

[Iliescu] In promoting the reform and of lacking courage, all of a sudden everybody criticizes the government, saying that it has taken a rash and hurried measure. Some people even claim that an abundance of products should have been ensured on the market first, that the privatization process should have been carried out in the national economy first, and conditions for competition should have been ensured. Certainly, we can come up with numerous necessary preliminary conditions. The only thing is that life obliges us to take more drastic measures than we would have wanted to; furthermore, the option of priorities in the steps that have to be taken is also limited by the objective conditions in our country. Perhaps the best thing would have been to have a time span of a few years to first make some thorough studies on the situation of the Romanian economy confronted with the whole mechanism of the international market and based on the thinking, theoretical foundation and strategy of the transition process, so as to work out several possible options over a few years, compare them, and then chose one of them. Then time would have been needed to formulate all the laws required for the transition from a centralized economy to a market economy. Finally, we would have needed time to work out the implementation measures with all their component aspects regarding economic mechanisms—on the one

hand, the modernization process of technologies, and, on the other hand, the management system, the modern management, needed for such an economy.

In some of our neighboring countries this formulation and experimentation process has been known for many years. Yugoslavia, for instance, has been experimenting with the market economy for 40 years now. Hungary has been experimenting with a number of formulas for 20 years. Poland has been developing along a certain stage for 10 years. Likewise, the Soviet Union has been discussing the issue of perestroyka for five years now. There is greater prudence in Czechoslovakia, but it has greater experience in this respect. In our country....

[Reporter] That means that this process is forced to a greater extent in our country than in our neighboring countries.

[Iliescu] ...because we have not had the same amount of time they have had. Despite the time they have had—and as you can see they are facing great difficulties—both Hungary and Poland have doubled their foreign debts in the past two years. In a matter of 10 months, we have traveled through a stage of radical changes which have taken place at an incomparably faster pace than in all the other countries; this process also applies to the political area, namely the transition from a one-party system to a multiparty system, the organization of elections, and the emergence of new democratic institutions, while in the economic area very many things have changed. We have now reached the essence of the issues regarding the economic reform.

[Reporter] We, therefore, have applied shock therapy.

[Iliescu] It has been necessary for us to adopt a pace in which we superimpose stages. This process actually began in January when a commission was established—that is, a large team of specialists coordinated by academician Tudorel Postolache, and the Central Institute for Economic Research in all branches of the national economy—which has also had consultations with specialists in other countries, including people of the Diaspora of Professor Rugina and [words indistinct], which worked out a framework program for transition to the market economy in Romania, and which forms the bases for substantiating the government program. The set of measures promoted in this whole strategy of the transition process also includes the price liberalization measure. From the very beginning it was established that it should come into force on 1 January. This is how it is actually happening; therefore, there is no sign of haste on the part of the government. The measures adopted on 1 November include this period of two preparatory months—that is, measures for preparing the transition to a new price system, which will come into force on 1 January.

[Reporter] You know that everyone understood that the new, unrestricted prices will come into force on 1 November.

[Iliescu] The government document mentioned—and it was also explained on television—which specific measures were to be applied on 1 November and that there are prices which will not be changed, which are going to be backed by government subsidies. I am talking about vital products for the people such as foodstuffs, children's clothing, rent, heat, energy, and transportation on the basis of season tickets, while other prices are backed by the government through appropriate compensations. Negotiations are now under way for other prices, and the largest part of them will go through this process of producer, trade, and end user and only on the basis of negotiations during these two months will the framework and the dynamic balance of prices—in accordance with the demand and offer—be established. At the same time, I would like to mention the fact that objective reality requires the adoption of these measures which were absolutely necessary and without which things would not have worked. True, some unfavorable situations emerged along with this requirement for adopting these measures for setting new prices. I am talking, first and foremost, of the systematic decrease in output and labor productivity, something that affected the economic results of enterprises on the one hand and accentuated the scarcity of products on the market on the other hand.

Second, the effects of the Gulf crisis and increased oil prices affected us because Kuwait and Iraq are our main oil suppliers; furthermore, in the case of Iraq, the oil was supplied as part of repayment of this country's debt to us—(?$1.3 billion). Or, from the report Vatasescu [state secretary charged with industrial and trade activities] presented at the government session for this fall, it follows that in the past quarter alone ensuring the necessary energy under these new conditions means an important amount of foreign currency that is needed: $1.200 billion. Finally, there is the drought that especially affected fall crops. Up to June our agriculture was developing quite well and outputs were promising; summer outputs [words indistinct] the good outputs of past years. The drought in the summer and fall this year, however, strongly affected fall crops such as corn, vegetables, beet, sunflower, and others. The necessary measures to protect our livestock alone require some $850 million worth of fodder.

All these things have, therefore, contributed to the deterioration of the economic situation; they drained budget reserves which made and continues to make it impossible for us to subsidize unprofitable products from the budget, and made it even more necessary to set prices on a real basis. Actually, in this sense I want to say that the new prices are viewed as an incentive for production on the one hand, while on the other hand the increase in prices of energy and raw materials and the adjustment of some of them to the prices in international markets is a necessity for the protection of our resources, for reducing consumption—especially because we have very high consumption of energy and raw materials.

What kind of negative impact can one expect at the social level? In the first stage, given the situation of lack

of products, it will sometimes lead to exaggerated price increases. This phenomenon, however, would have taken place and is taking place anyway, because of the lack of products on the market, by proliferation of the black market. From this point of view, the expected measures of price liberalization should also undermine this negative aspect—namely, the proliferation of black marketeering. At the same time, it is also worth mentioning the measures of social protection, which are being implemented as early as this stage.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct]

[Iliescu] ...this protection is relative, meaning that basic products are protected through those measures which were advanced by the government and through monetary compensation. I would also like to mention the fact that some people criticize the National Salvation Front [FSN] program and the government program, aiming this criticism at the program's social element which was based on certain economists's findings—namely, that to achieve the transition to the market economy and to overcome the crisis inevitably imply social costs whose effects can be mitigated only much later in this transitional period. The program adopted by the government maintained the idea of overcoming the crisis by including measures of social protection. This can also be seen in our present circumstances as we move to these protection measures.

Of course, these social protective measures are at the level of our national economy's potential, but they are not few and not negligible.

Likewise, those who criticized the government, saying that it delayed or that it took over their program, now accuse it of haste. How should one understand this criticism? These are not objective criteria on which to pass judgments, but [words indistinct]. There has been no haste or improvisation in the adoption of these measures; rather, we are dealing here with a necessary measure for the survival of our national economy.

Furthermore, people occasionally compare our situation with that in other countries which have never experienced a centralized economy and are practicing a market economy. Such comparisons are uncalled for when judging the circumstances in which these measures were adopted for our economy. There is also criticism leveled at the FSN and the government for having failed to keep their electoral promises. This is also incorrect and untrue. I would like to recall what I said as far back as the end of last December and in January, when we assumed responsibility for the changes that were wrought by the December revolution. At that time I said that those who assume these responsibilities are taking on big responsibilities with inherent personal risks. We were faced with a very difficult inheritance and a profound crisis situation in Romanian society and on the economic, social, political, and moral planes. I said then that this will require great efforts and that it is not easy to assume responsibility under such tense conditions; however, someone had to assume such responsibilities and the appropriate personal risks. I said that we consciously assumed these responsibilities.

During the electoral campaign, all who participated in our rallies will recall that we openly said that we are not putting forward a demagogic program and that we are not asking for the country's vote in return for promises that an easy period will come in the wake of our election. On the contrary, we said that hard times are ahead of us and that we will have to cover a great distance in view of the very complicated situation we inherited, particularly in the socioeconomic field. We pointed out that the transition program itself—that is, the economic transition and reform—would trigger great problems which would require broad understanding and support from the masses, as well as the pooling and coordination of constructive efforts and forces to overcome these difficult moments for our country. This is also a question of national responsibility and patriotism: Everyone should rally around a program which puts national interests above party and conjectural interests; therefore, my appeal at that time is still valid now.

[Reporter] You referred to a common front. I will (?insist) on the question [words indistinct]. You see, price liberalization is even being contested by the trade unions, which also claim that they want this measure along the road to market economy. In other countries which are ahead of us in the area of reforms—in Poland, for instance—the government's measures enjoyed a somewhat broader support. (?Let me explain.) The strike of railway men from northern Poland was an exception. In our country, strikes are never ending. They have become as common as anything, something that exacerbated and continues to exacerbate the economic chaos in our country—I do not think that anyone will contest this point. Do you have a reasonable explanation for all this?

[Iliescu] I can only think of one explanation—namely, the lack of understanding for the complex situation in the country. To persist with these claims to the government—as if the government had economic and financial reserves that it could release under the pressure of such claims—has led to the real crisis in which the Romanian economy finds itself. In this respect, one can obviously understand the people's wishes and claims and their worry over the difficult economic situation and its harsh social effects for many categories of people. From this viewpoint, it is necessary to continue the dialogue involving the current leadership, the government, the trade unions, and the representatives of large categories of employees and other social categories to maintain this contact and dialogue thus creating the necessary mutual understanding for joint action. This is not limited to prices alone, becauase prices are only one aspect of economic reform.

From this viewpoint, I agree with the demands of the trade unions, which actually (?approve) the government's program, concurrently with the swifter promotion of measures to free the pay system. From the discussions I had in various enterprises around the country, I realize that the

current rigid pay system becomes anachronistic under the conditions of price liberalization.

We are sure of this. The government has already worked out the bases of the new pay system and has entered into a dialogue with the trade unions on this topic. One cannot adopt a new pay law without appropriate protective measures, because we are introducing a new pay system which must be in accordance with everybody's real quantitative and qualitative contribution and which will generate (?true reform).

This means that certain enterprises will no longer be able to employ more people than objectively required by the production process; therefore, we will concurrently have to adopt a law on protection against unemployment. Steps will also be taken against the very serious and damaging phenomenon of theft and appropriation of assets from enterprises and the trade network as well as against the growing signs of corruption. These steps must be combined with economic and administrative measures in this respect.

Furthermore, one of the most difficult and urgent problems is that of men—training cadres and modern managers—with modern outlooks. This presupposes a renewal at all levels and also an appropriate training of the cadres we already have. These cadres have accumulated experience and are ready to adapt themselves to the new conditions. It also presupposes the replacement of those who only show great signs of inertia and inability to adapt with other trained, dynamic, and intelligent people.

We have to blend the requirement for high professional skills with the requirement for a high degree of correctness. In this respect, one should wage a broad struggle, combining the contribution of decisionmakers with that of the public, to defeat inertia and the old mentality. This also requires the support of the people and trade unions. As you said, the strikes and interruptions of the work and activity in some economic branches will not resolve problems, but will complicate and aggravate the already complicated situation there.

I believe that no man who cares about this country's fate will fail to realize the need for constructive efforts from everybody—from all political and social factors, and from all forces—to maintain an appropriate framework to resolve the current difficult crisis situation and to promote the country's real renewal.

[Reporter] You talked about dialogue and consensus. How do they relate to criticism? Here, I would like to ask you another question. You went to Moldavia. Is the situation in Moldavia identical to that in the rest of the country?

[Iliescu] It is good that you raised this question. In the last two weeks, I have visited four counties in our country: Galati, Braila, Iasi, and Bacau. I met with various people from industrial and agricultural units; I also met with staff from the leadership of prefect's offices and city halls and with representatives of political groups from across the spectrum. I was able to ascertain something positive; namely, that a more constructive climate prevails in all these counties, a greater spirit of responsibility toward the economic and social life, as well as a favorable climate for cooperation and collaboration with the local political factors. In other words, there is an ongoing dialogue in all these prefect's offices with the representatives of the local political groups. In this respect, I had the feeling that there is a favorable climate for the activity of the local administration and for the maintenance of this permanent dialogue with the representatives the local political groups and trade unions.

From the dialogue I conducted there, I would like to mention that the local people criticized the manifestations of public disorder in Bucharest and failed to understand these [word indistinct] and sometimes violent forms of arguing and confrontation. They called on everybody—both the state and public order organs and the press, which maintains a state of tension and poisoning of the social climate—to make a somewhat greater contribution to ensure international calm and the necessary climate for a normal activity at all levels. There are already enough difficulties in the economic and social life; therefore, we need quiet. The people are thoroughly dissatisfied with the existence of these turbulent groups, which are actually a mere minority, but which disturb the tranquility of the large majority of the citizens.

This criticism was also leveled at the price issue, because they were not adequately informed about what is going on in the country and about the government's measures and other adopted measures and normative and legislative acts. They complained that no constructive opinions are heard which can help with the implementation of these measures. They also asked why one does not disseminate various experiences which can be of use in solving the various problems with which we are faced.

On the other hand, there is a certain press, quite a few number of papers, with elements which maintain a permanent state of tension and who do not at all help the country or its people by ensuring an appropriate climate for the resolution of problems. In this respect, the television was also criticized for occasionally giving in to the pressure of some noisy and turbulent minority elements and for failing to sufficiently observe the state and the positions of the many, who are engaged in constructive activity, who go about their business, and who want to create a climate of peace and efficient work.

[Reporter] Mr. President, here is another direct question. Do you think Parliament's activity is efficient enough to meet current requirements? A second question, connected with the previous one: Do you think there is an opposition even within the parliamentary majority?

[Iliescu] I believe that I have already spoken my mind on this issue in Parliament. As a matter of fact, as far back as the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] period—at a discussion on the electoral law, which

proceeded on the basis of the idea of a two-tier parliament—I said that for this transitional period it would probably be more practical to have a one-tier parliament which would have fulfilled both the function of constituent assembly and the function of legislative body. The choice, however, was for a two-tier Parliament, which is not even well defined with regard to the way in which the Deputies' Assembly and the Senate were elected and which presents a certain parallelism from this viewpoint.

I believe, however, that despite this shortcoming, which is a kind of burden because it doubles the time taken up by discussion of all legislative acts in the two chambers—it might have been better if the two chambers tackled problems in a more cooperative manner—I think that there is an understanding between the two chambers to proceed with greater efficiency in broaching problems. In this respect, a dialogue was conducted between the government and the committees of the two chambers to also resort to emergency procedures when the need arises to pass more urgent legislation and to find ways and means to ensure an efficient resolution of problems.

[Reporter] About an opposition....

[Iliescu] I would not call it an opposition; I do not think we are dealing with an opposition here. Even the majority group in Parliament, however, the FSN, like all the other political groups, is currently going through a process of greater programmatic and organizational consolidation, strengthening, and defining. In this respect, because it has a larger representation in Parliament, it is only natural that different views should appear in this group and between its representatives there. These differences are not always or necessarily divergent; therefore, the existence of a permanent dialogue, including a polemical one, even within this group and its parliamentary factions is a natural thing in a democratic process.

[Reporter] Because we are running out of time, I would like you to kindly give a very brief answer to the following questions: Are you worried about the problem of emigration? Why are so many people still leaving? Do you think that the low standard of living is the real cause?

[Iliescu] Yes, this is the only reason for emigration. No one can still invoke political reasons for leaving the country; however, this process of emigration has acquired a larger scope in today's world. One could note—I read about this—that the United States has adopted some new measures to attract the best brains from other countries to counter the great Japanese competition. European countries are also encouraging the emigration of the best brains from other countries. The victims of this brain drain are the poorly developed countries. We are a smaller country with big economic problems; therefore, we are subjected to this pressure of the brain drain toward countries which can lure people with better conditions and higher economic potential.

In this respect, perhaps one should appeal to other factors aside from material incentives and better material conditions. During this difficult time for our country, the young people educated through the efforts of this society should also have other incentives for their activity—that is, one should also appeal to their patriotic responsibility of being alongside the people in times of hardship and of utilizing their creative potential alongside the people. I do not consider it outdated to appeal to everybody's civic and patriotic responsibility to be at the side of the people in time of trouble.

[Reporter] Mr. President, I am not telling you anything new when I say that the tense situation in Soviet Moldova has made Romanian public opinion sensitive to events over there. In an interview granted to a news agency, you said that 5 million Romanians are living beyond the Prut River. Moscow says there are only 3 million. Is this difference in figures significant? What will Romania's position be if that local conflict escalates?

[Iliescu] Referring to the first issue, there are no rigorous statistics, but one should make a distinction between the population of the Moldovan Republic and the Romanian population living beyond the Prut River, both in the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and in the Ukraine—that is, in all of Bessarabia and North Bukovina as well as in other parts of he Soviet Union. I went according to certain figures and approximately quoted some sources on the entire Romanian population in the Soviet Union.

We cannot be indifferent to the situation in the Moldovan SSR and the ethnic conflicts that have appeared and are developing in the USSR, particularly the problem of the population in Bessarabia and Soviet Moldova. One should not tackle all these matters in a purely emotional manner, however, rather in a rational and political way, by also taking into consideration our interest in maintaining good relations with our neighbors—particularly with our great neighbor in the East—and not complicating the situation of the Romanians both in the Moldova SSR and in the other parts of the USSR.

[Reporter] Mr. President, with your permission, a last question. What, in your opinion, is Romania's image in the eyes of the West?

[Iliescu] I believe that, in recent months, positive shifts have occurred in the way the international public opinion and the political factors in various countries, particularly Europe, are judging the situation in Romania. There are still a number of reservations and inhibitions, which are also fed by the negative contribution of some of our conationals, by the maintenance of a state of strain and tension in the country, by the poisoning of our domestic political and social climate, and by the way in which these people disseminate this spirit abroad.

[Reporter] Certain partners or would-be partners—for instance, from Japan or South Korea—have shown a certain lack of confidence in cooperation with us, claiming that we do not know how to wash our dirty linen at home.

[Iliescu] This is quite normal. In my discussions with businessmen and politicians in New York and at the International Bucharest Fair, even I was confronted with this attitude. On the other hand, however, we can also note a positive aspect—namely, a greater interest in Romania, including in the area of business, and an active presence of many business circles and companies interested in developing cooperation with Romania.

At the same time, one can notice a certain reticence on the part of some circles in connection with the internal stability and the work climate in our enterprises. In other words, people coming here to commit themselves to a business relationship with us want to be assured that their capital investments will yield profitable results. In this respect, maintaining a climate of work, commitment, efficiency, and concern with the promotion of such requirements in our units and ensuring an overall political climate of quiet, trust, and stability in our country are very important factors, not only for our general aspect but also for the image projected abroad and for our supreme national interests in economic and political areas.

In conclusion, I again call on all responsible political and social factors in this country to understand these requirements, to be above certain conjectural and narrow group and party interests, to place ourselves on the platform of national interests, and to find that common platform of understanding in which everybody's efforts and constructive contribution can help to promote our national interests.

[Reporter] Mr. President, I thank you very much.

Republican Party President Backs Roman's Reform

AU0811154690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/11/1990—Professor Ion Minzatu, president of the Romanian Republican Party, expressed his opinion, in an interview with the "ADEVARUL" daily, that Prime Minister Petre Roman had gained enough experience to find the best solutions and that now the reform should be enforced with determination.

"I think that the only way to maintain peace is to speak the truth," said Dr. Minzatu, who criticised the team of counselors surrounding President Iliescu.

Showing that since the revolution "not all those nominated in key posts have lived up to their duties," the party leader voiced disapproval of the tendency of certain unions to act as substitutes for the managing bodies.

The Republican Party president also criticised the absence of a law stimulating competence and intellectual creativity.

National Peasant Party Communique on Prices

AU0811152590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1436 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/11/1990—A communique sent to the ROMPRES News Agency by the National Peasant Party (NPP) [PNT] reads: In the current economic conditions that seriously affect each family's budget, the liberalization of prices markedly deteriorates the economic power of the employed population and especially of the active but unemployed population.

The liberalization of prices means sacrifices, which are presented in terms intended to change the reality of the causes behind the current crisis.

The NPP expresses its hope that the government and the legislative institution do not intend to create a psychosocial climate fomenting fear of existence in an attempt at diverting the people's attention from socio-political phenomena.

University Square Demonstrations Continue 8 Nov

AU0811214190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2128 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/11/1990—Around 200-250 demonstrators gathered in University Square on Thursday. This time the groups were divided: one chanted pro-monarchist slogans and another antigovernment slogans. At 20:15 hrs the traffic was normal.

* Parliamentary Opposition to Government Decried

91BA0047D Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14-15 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Igor Butnaru article: "A Paradoxical Dispute"]

[Text] Although in the past week the country's political life was not marked by any special events (political processes of greater or lesser impact, mini-meetings, strikes, and other protest actions, inner party earthquakes, etc. have become rather routine elements of the quotidian), a more careful observation reveals one noteworthy phenomenon, namely the escalation of a process that we mentioned before—as a curiosity—but which we now signal as a source of concern: the confrontation between the legislative arm—the Parliament—and the executive—the government. Of course, in a genuinely democratic society such a thing is fairly normal, if not even positive and necessary in view of the separation of powers in the state. But there is a difference between a mutual and generally useful separation, and mutually and generally harmful feuding! At this point we should stop and think for a moment. And to ensure that our judgment is impartial, we must keep in mind the impact of the present socioeconomic and political context, because of the considerable difference between the process of parliamentary life and government in a structured, settled, stable, and even routine economic and social-political mechanism, and that taking place amid the radical restructuring and revolutionary change of an

entire society. In the first case, the social processes and phenomena are slow and evolutionary, and their regulation follows the same traits. Is this our situation? Obviously not! The process triggered in December 1989—by a plot or without—is a revolutionary process that, despite all the obstacles and attempts to slow it down, is demolishing and rebuilding from the foundation—according to new principles and concepts—our socioeconomic structures. The process is extensive, dynamic, radical, and even traumatizing, but it is also our salvation, like the surgical removal of an incurably sick organ accompanied by the simultaneous transplant of a healthy and vigorous organ in the same body. Of course, the success of such an operation hinges on many factors, including the general resistance of the body, the selection of the correct surgical procedure, etc., and last but not least, on the selection of the surgeons and the team spirit and cooperation among them. But coming back to the matter at hand, we can say, like somebody else said once before, that we have very good plans and programs (for governing, naturally), we have a wonderful working class, and at the top we have the most beloved (87 percent, right?) son of the people, not to mention that we also have a Parliament—albeit rather monochromatic—and a government of technocrats born of the same triumph of quasi-unanimous will; and yet... In other words, the economic power, the political power, and practically everything else is in the hands of people elected by a crushing majority. Consequently, the process of reconstruction of the Romanian society can be expected to proceed more dynamically and smoothly than in any other East European country. That things are not quite like that is obvious and in our opinion, the causes must be sought at the inception phase of the power. Thus, above and beyond any other more or less certain factors that determined the electoral success and the installation of the present power—promises to basically maintain the socioeconomic status quo and to ensure jobs for everyone (badly paid but secure jobs); promises to secure a better (capitalist-type) living standard while at the same time avoiding unemployment, and offering effective and efficient social protection; and egalitarian, stupid slogans of cheap patriotism (along the line of, "We won't sell our country"). That these slogans and promises would have to be abandoned was inevitable, but it happened at the prompting of those who were "directly in touch" with the realities, i.e., of the executive power, while the minds and hearts of those who won the triumphant majority in Parliament remained arrested at the same stage of electoral slogans. The latter are becoming increasingly divorced from the realities of the present and are obstinately opposing change. We thus come to the first dramatically paradoxical situation: The government—of NSF [National Salvation Front] origin—adopted an eminently liberal and progressive program (privatization, free market, free intiative, competence, etc.) and after some hesitation, began to implement it increasingly resolutely, beginning of course with the rapid formulation of vitally necessary draft bills—governing the economic units, the land, privatization, salaries, pensions, etc.—whereby is a primary, even vital necessity. Here, however, we met the second paradoxical situation, namely the fact that the opposition (if not downright obstructionism) with which these bills are meeting in Parliament comes also (if not especially) from the NSF majority! In an excess of demolishing zeal, they seem to think that the role of Parliament is to vehemently criticize every letter of the draft bills, rather than issue laws! Four hours of debates on a single paragraph of a single article of a bill! Whole days spent on four-five articles! These are the famous performances of the country's legislative mechanism in the current circumstances, when each hour and each minute count! "We are not making laws for a few days but for many years to come, so we cannot afford to dispatch them in haste. We have enough bad laws hastily put together," say some Parliament members and (at least on the surface) they seem to be right. The government, however, needs new, good, but also swift laws ("fall is here and we still don't have a land bill!") in order to be able to govern and to solve our multiple socioeconomic problems that suffer no delay. Evidently, the government is also right...

But, like in the oriental story of the judge who found both plaintiffs in the right and, when his apprentice observed that they couldn't both be right, he answered disarmingly, "You are right, too!", we also say: The Parliament is right and the government is right but what the country needs now, Messrs. pundits, is not proving points for the sake of one's pride. Nor does it need endless disputes for the sake of justice; what the country needs is a realistic understanding of the reality and appropriate measures to deal with it. This is, after all, the supreme wisdom and the real justice useful to everyone. Because, as the folk saying goes, when the masters fight, the servants end up with aching backs.

Are we not right, too?

* Brucan on Brucan-Militaru Joint Interview

91P20004A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 25 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Silviu Brucan article: "The Ceausescuite Counteroffensive—The Right To Reply"]

[Text] The Brucan-General Militaru interview (ADEVARUL 23 August 1990) aroused a lively discussion in the Romanian and foreign press. The time has come to respond to some questions and to express our opinion on the main issues raised in this discussion.

1. The first issue is the relationship between the popular revolution of December 1989 and the dissident actions—public or covert—organized for the purpose of removing the Ceausescuite dictatorship from power. We have considered (and we are stressing once again) that the decisive and predominant factor in the revolution in Romania was the popular explosion of December 1989 and we pointed out that the entire activity aimed at producing a breach in the three pillars of Ceausescuite power (the Communist Party, the Army, and the Securitate) was conceived of as a secondary aspect, subordinate to the popular revolt. At the height of the popular revolt of 22 December, the generals

and officers who formed the Military Resistance Committee took over the leadership of the Army and served as the military shield for the popular revolution. Therefore, the attempt to place the dissident action in the Army in opposition to the popular revolution or to present the two as conflicting forces is a distortion of history and, surely, an intentional distortion of the concept and actions to which our interview referred. They have something in mind here and later on we will try to find out what it is. But before that, let us say that in our interview we referred only to actions intended to create a breach in the party, Army, and Securitate. We did not propose to include all the dissidents in Romania, such as Mircea Dinescu or Doina Cornea, Radu Filipescu, or Andrei Plesu, and many others, and we did not enumerate actions such as the Jiu Valley strike, the Brasov demonstration and others. All these things were outside the framework proposed for our interview, although we acknowledge that they played an extremely important role in the revolution, inspiring the fighters and offering them an example of courage.

2. Categorically we do not agree with the opinion expressed by one of our critics to the effect that in Romania, as a result of the repressive nature of the Ceausescu regime, "the only solution would present itself in the form of a real social explosion" since this would have meant to wait for this social explosion with our hands folded, and we would not undertake anything because "in Romania, it was not possible to bring about changes from within the system." In the final analysis, we are dealing here with the theory of political passivity in the face of the national disaster and of the savage crimes committed by Ceausescu,a theory with which we, obviously, cannot agree.

We realize, however, that the subject is rather popular since it is to the liking of all those who docilely submitted themselves to the dictatorship for more than two decades and their number is not small.

3. It is only one step from the theory of passivity to the denigration of those who have acted against the dictatorship and another one of our critics is doing this, spreading his long rigamarole over three consecutive joined the side of the revolution because the soldiers. NCO's, officers, and generals "were convinced that they had to do this" and because "they felt very strongly that they had been oppressed under the dictatorship." Such jingoistic absurdities cannot explain why there were crowds of soldiers, NCO's and officers in Timisoara, Sibiu, and even Bucharest on 21 December or why there are so many generals and high-level officers on trial. The secretary of the editorial board, who allocates the newspaper space by the acre, has no idea of the meaning of a military structure which has been consolidated during more than 20 years of dictatorship. In reference to the generals who assumed command of the army on 22 December for the very reason that their underground activity had prepared them for this, he writes that "they had received the order to join the side of the revolution." What else can we say about the confusion in the head of this journalist, who, as a worthy follower of the admirers of Garibaldi, discusses "the error of war" in Drumul Taberei, juggling the armored vehicles and tanks, which he has at his fingertips, confusing the regular Ministry of the Interior troops with the elite units of the Securitate, concluding as follows: "We learn that the former Colonel Trosca (wearing the military uniform of a technical officer which he actually was since he was a chemical engineer) had been a counterintelligence [CI] officer; there was a rumor that since he was a CI officer he was concerned with some compromising dossiers, given the names of birds, which disappeared mysteriously after the Revolution." (One might say that it was not a matter of birds but of bats in the belfry!)

I cited this long quotation since it is typical of the neophytes in the trade of journalism who have invaded the press since the Revolution and who, without any inhibitions, attack the most complex military themes, although one can see by their writings that they were never in the military!

4. From the denigration of the resistance it is only another step to the presentation of General Ilie Ceausescu as a "patriotic historian," to the romantic stories which draw tears for the Ceausescu children whose "fault is that they had a bad father" and to the statements that "terrorists actually did not exist since it is not known who fired," supported by authorized attacks on our statements on "the fate of terrorists or the presence of foreign terrorists," which, after almost a year, "still need numerous clarifications," etc. How many more years are necessary for clarifications since even the slightest trace might disappear by then? Indeed, we are witnessing a counteroffensive on the part of all those people who, in January and February, were hiding wherever they could to escape the fury of the crowd. Now, one after the other, they are coming out of hiding and, with the millions acquired during the dictatorship, are printing publications, brochures, and manifestos, in which they are becoming more and more daring and aggressive. They "anoint" journalists who want to get a nice berth so that they can introduce into the press the idea that "it was not as bad as they say" that their situations "still needs numerous clarifications," etc., etc.

Of course, the principal target of the counterattack is the dissidents, whose activity against the dictatorship is the negation of that mass cowardice and moral and material corruption which permitted ceausescuism to continue its crude and savage domination for more than two decades. So who is attacking the dissidents? The former chief of Ceausescu's propaganda section; also, a number of scribes who raised hosannas to the dictator or the dictatoress are now in the first ranks of the counteroffensive.You can recognize them from a distance by the nationalistic-hooliganistic and antisemitic invectives which they do not hesitate to reintroduce into journalism today. They all have set up a common front against the Brucan-Militaru interview, which, for the first time, proves with concrete facts, names, and dates that there existed in Romania a

resistance movement with a strategy devised by the best generals and with a coherent activity and which, under the conditions of the dictatorship, could only be a conspiratorial activity.

The fact that many of those who belonged to the conspiracy made us swear that we would not reveal their names proves that this counteroffensive of ceausescuism is strong and has ramifications in the power apparatus. In regard to my own activity and the accusation of lack of modesty, I recognize that I have not been and am not modest, but, in regard to the facts, I have not mentioned anything in the interview which was not already known to all those who listen to foreign radio stations, that is, to Romanian public opinion. I contributed to this deliberately, with all the risks involved, for the very purpose of demonstrating that action could and must be taken against the dictatorship.

* CADA Proposals on Army for Constitution

91BA0047B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Oct 90 p 7

[Article by CADA (Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army) members Lt. Col. Octavian Chiriac and Lt. Col. Petru Litiu: "Proposed Provisions for Romania's Constitution Concerning the Army and National Defense"]

[Text] 1. The Army—one of the fundamental institutions of the Romanian state—is the defender of Romania's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

2. The Army—the guarantor of the Constitution—is the defender of the basic institutions of the state. The Army will not be used against the Romanian people in any circumstance. Internally, the Army will act in accordance with its mission training only in situations in which hostile paramilitary forces are formed and used as such, forces that threaten our socioeconomic life and evince an antidemocratic and hostile nature.

3. Romania's president can order the Army only after prior consultations with the Higher Defense Council and with the agreement of the Parliament, summoned in keeping with emergency procedures. Any major decision (declaring war or state of emergency, reserve call-up, or intervention in case of natural disasters or domestic unrest) requires the approval or denial of Parliament.

4. The Army will be under the command of the General Staff as the planning and execution body, on the basis of the orders of the minister of national defense as devolving from the decisions of the Higher Defense Council.

5. As commander-in-chief and representative of the Army, the minister of national defense is appointed by the prime minister on the basis of the proposals of the Higher Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense.

6. The organization of the Army falls under the prerogatives of the Parliament and proceeds on the basis of the proposals of the Higher Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense.

7. The Army's budget and strength are established by Parliament on the basis of proposals submitted by the Higher Military Council through the defense minister.

8. Military service is compulsory for all Romanian citizens residing in the country or abroad on missions or studies. The length of the military service is decided by Parliament.

9. The Ministry of National Defense is the sole body in charge of the production, import, export, and procurement of weapons, ammunition, explosives, and military materiel. The Romanian state has the monopoly on the above materiel.

10. The system of military pay and pensions will be regulated so as to be congruent with the importance of the mission of defending the fatherland, the degree of potentional professional risk involved, and the need to ensure an appropriate living standard for the military.

11. Members of the Romanian Army may accept decorations and symbols awarded by the armies of other countries as honorary titles. They may not accept pensions, subsidies, titles, or gratuities from any foreign government.

12. Military men on active duty are barred from belonging and being active in any political parties, organizations, and groups.

13. The interests of the Army will be represented in Parliament by military senators (released from active duty for the respective term), elected from among candidates designated by the Higher Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense.

In a future issue we will expand on the rationale that led us to the present proposals.

[signed] Lieutenant Colonel Octavian Chiriac
Lieutenant Colonel Petru Litiu
Members of the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army

* Timisoara Military Defends CADA Members

91BA0047A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Oct 90 p 7

[Article signed by Major Gherasim Alexandru on behalf of the Association of Military Cadres of Unit No. 01876: "CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army] Is All of Us"]

[Text] With regard to the appearance of the article entitled "We Will Not Tolerate Lack of Discipline in the Army," signed by "the personnel of the General Staff," in the weekly ARMATA POPORULUI No. 40 (43) of

October this year and in ROMANIA LIBERA No. 233 of 29 September 1990, the Association of Military Cadres of the military unit No. 01876 of Timisoara, established under Order O.G. 29/1807/1990 of the Ministry of National Defense and under the direct sponsorship of the General Staff, protests the manner in which the article presented the activities of military cadres who belonged to CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army].

We believe that the irregularities and lack of discipline noted in some military units—not known to us but undoubtedly known to the authors of the article, who, however, did not cite them by name—are not an outcome of CADA activities, but of the preservation of the old kind of relations that do not correspond to the real process of opening and democratization taking place throughout our society.

The military cadres who belonged to CADA were representative for our unit and we chose them to participate in the dialogue with the higher military and government bodies; we chose them because they were well prepared and their morals and behavior had been correct and had not been discredited either during the days of 16-22 December 1989, before, or after.

In fact CADA was all of us: the honest soldiers whose hearts beat at one with the hearts of the people of Timisoara and the rest of the country who had rebelled against the dictatorship and communism, the soldiers who lived those horrifying moments that deeply marked us, when we were ordered into the streets against our own people and our own will. Our intention was to purify this institution and to adopt a legislation for it that will not allow for such situations in the future.

We want to inform the public and the military men of the other Army units that, armed with the same equipment as in the past years, our unit this year won the best performance qualification for the flight training of non-navigating personnel.

We want to add that during this period we continued the training of young pilots, at which we obtained new skill records in their qualifications, while at the same time fulfilling our missions concerning exercises and cooperation with other classes of troops. We are stressing these achievements not as a boast, but to show that each category of personnel of our unit, from simple soldier to commanding officer, has been working hard and that throughout this period the former CADA members in our unit fully participated in all the activities of the unit.

The proof of the above is that when the Association of Military Cadres was established, the former CADA members were elected to the Steering Committee and our military cadres trusted them to further represent their interests.

The only thing that the above-mentioned article revealed was the malice and petty interests of those who denigrated us in writing because the General Staff is well aware of the results obtained by our unit; furthermore, on the occasion of talks with military cadres from our unit and other units in Timisoara, the national defense minister himself, Major General Victor Stancu, had an opportunity to note the unanimous attitude of all the categories of personnel toward the CADA members, as well as our determination to continue implementing the principles formulated already in February to struggle, together with all the country's military men, to regain the honor, pride, and respect that the Army deserves.

We want to express our resolve to contribute, alongside all those honestly interested, to the process of building a well trained, modern, flexible, and efficient Army, led only by competent and honest cadres, and to introduce the modifications that appear in the legislation and adapt them to the military requirements, for the purpose of thus aligning the Army to the demands of the new democracy being established in Romania.

We want to assure all the country's citizens that we are determined to do our duty, but we are indignant about the manner in which some publications chose to speculate on and to erroneously—or rather, maliciously—discuss the concept of democratization of the Army! The Romanian language dictionary clearly explains the meaning of democracy, and we want to stress that only real democracy can help the Army become a moral, dignified, and legal institution in every circumstance, whose unity under a sole command chain must be exercised not arbitrarily, but with respect for the law, which in its turn must show respect for the individual at all the levels and rungs of the echelon.

Only a modern army with competent and honest cadres and with a structure similar to that of the armies of the developed countries with which we wish to become aligned, can ensure the process and guarantee the achievement of democracy in our country, this being the wish of everyone: the partliament, the government, and the presidency. Consequently, we think that those who oppose this process do not oppose it because they don't understand it, but only because they want to preserve their positions or privileges; they deliberately confuse trade unions and democracy in the Army, spread mistrust, and vilify for the sole purpose of creating confusion and delaying an objectively necessary process that in the last analysis cannot be halted, but can be slowed down and at times even diverted. Such actions damage and besmirch the memory of all those who suffered, struggled, and died for the ideals of a better, safer, more humane, and truly free future. These are the ideals that each one of us must pursue on our respective jobs for our sakes and for the sake of our children. We must remember our December martyrs and not allow their sacrifice to be wasted in vain.

Preparations for 9 Dec Serbian Elections Noted

LD0811163390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Pristina, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Preparations have begun for the first postwar, multiparty elections in Kosovo and Metohija, which as is known, will be held in the Republic of Serbia on 9 December. A consultative meeting of presidents and secretaries of municipal electoral commission held in Pristina today was told that the Republican Electoral Commission has appointed 34 electoral commissions for as many electoral units in this province. Each electoral unit will elect one people's deputy. It is assessed that Kosovo and Metohija has an electorate of about 900,000, of which about 700,000 are Albanians.

The secretary of the Republican Electoral Commission of Serbia, Vladeta Popovic, said that the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova - DSK], which rallies only Albanians, can participate as a party only in the federal elections and not in the republican elections as it is not registered with the Serbian Secretariat for Justice. The possibility exists, however, that members of this party may run as candidates at the forthcoming elections in Serbia, but as private citizens.

Ballot papers and minutes of the work of electoral committees will be printed in the languages of the different nations and nationalities.

Serb Parties Granted Airtime To Present Programs

Old Radical Party Wants Communists Out

AU0311210090

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 3 November, jointly with Belgrade 202 and the Serbian Radio Network, and again at 1500 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian Radio Network, carries programs presenting the Old Radical Party, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990" presenting the Serbian parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program, which lasts half an hour, begins with Milorad Stevanovic, the party's president, explaining the history of the party which he calls "the oldest party in Serbia." He finishes by saying that "the party has remained on the foundations from which it emerged." He says that the party endeavored "to create a supraparty or multiparty government from all sectors which could really, sincerely, and honestly carry out democratic elections so that these elections would lead to a constituent assembly and that this assembly, elected in this way, would determine the form government and help set it up."

Stevanovic goes on to explain certain points of his party's program including "the return of land to agricultural workers," depolitization of the Army and police, depolitization of the judiciary, the provision of the minimum level of existence for everyone, and the creation of a "core of the state which will really serve the person as a citizen."

He also devotes some time to the communists and the need for the communist authorities to step down from power. He speculates on the reasons for the ruling party to agree to the elections and concludes that "a victory in the elections would be a defeat for both the winner and the losers." He finishes by saying: "This party calls on all sympathizers, (?members), and citizens to oppose such elections and this way of legitimizing the existing authorities."

The program at 1500 GMT lasts an hour and consists of a talk between an unidentified moderator and Slobodan Turlakov, member of the party's main committee, Dragan Milojevic, president of the party's local committee in Cuprija, Dragoslav Hadzic, president of the local committee in Gornji Milanovac, and Slobodan Mladenovic, president of the local committee in Svetozarevo.

At the beginning of the program, Turlakov repeats the stand expressed in the morning program that the party will not stand at the elections since the party believes that the elections will not be democratic and running in the "rigged and previously prepared elections would in fact have a direct effect on the destiny of Serbia and the Serbian people."

Discussion then goes on to cover subjects such as the party's view of Yugoslavia, the position of Serbia in it, political life after the elections, the party's economic program, interethnic relations, human rights and civil liberties, social policy, and ecology.

Concerning the future setup of Yugoslavia, (?Turlakov) explains that "it is clearly stated in the party's theses that we are for a federal structure for Yugoslavia, in which respect, the powers of the federation would be in the areas of defense, (?joint) foreign policy, a unified market, and the monetary, exchange rates, and credit system, as well as in the system of environment protection and the freedoms and rights of citizens." He then goes on to say that if no consensus on a federal Yugoslavia is reached then the party would not "flee" from a confederation but it would advocate that "Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia must remain in their present borders."

All Serbs' Alliance Stresses Serb Unity

AU0511203490

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 5 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina and the Serbian Radio Network, and again at 1500 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian Radio Network, carries programs presenting the Alliance of All Serbs of the World as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990" presenting the Serbian parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

In the program at 0900 GMT, which lasts 30 minutes, president of the party, Slobodan Mitic, presents the views of the party. He says that "the Alliance of All Serbs of the World advocates the creation of an economically, culturally, politically, and militarily strong Serbian state. The condition for that is the unification and mobilization of all Serbian workers, as well as educational, cultural, and political forces in the country and abroad. This is why we would like all people who feel that they are Serbs or who are friends of the Serbian people, no matter whether they are Orthodox, Muslim, Catholic, atheist, Macedonianized, or Albanianized Serbs, to accept the call to unification."

Mitic says further that "the Alliance of All Serbs of the World advocates the removal of all legal, political, and ideological obstacles to the introduction of a market economy" and wants to find "the quickest possible way to correct the injustice done to agriculture and peasants."

Further on, Mitic speaks of need to introduce laws on demographic policy and the restoration of the family, to guarantee freedom of creation and freedom of press, and to introduce laws on environmental protection.

"We will resolutely advocate depolitization of the judiciary, police, and Army," Mitic says and adds that the party is of the opinion that "Serbia must also strengthen itself in the military sense, because only a Serbian army is capable of defending Serbia." The Alliance of All Serbs of the World, Mitic says, would like Serbia to be a parliamentary democracy and advocates an economic and cultural federation with Europe and joining the European Community.

The program at 1500 GMT lasts an hour and consists of a talk between moderator Djordje Vlajic and Slobodan Mitic and a member of the party leadership, Aleksandar Dejanovic, in which the two elaborate on the party's aims.

Asked about the currently very topical dilemma between federation and confederation, Mitic says that the party's aim is "to unite Serbs, the Serbian people and the Serbian lands and whether the relations will be federal or confederate we have not yet established clearly," and adds that "constitution and federation within Yugoslavia would suit Serbia best," but that "the question of borders should be settled."

Business, Peasants' Party on Free Markets

AU0511203990

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0930 GMT on 5 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina stations and the Serbian Radio Network and again at 1600 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian Radio Network, carries programs presenting the Party of Independent Business People and Peasants as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990" presenting the parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The program carried at 0930 GMT lasts half an hour and features Milica (?Slom), member of the committee of the wing of professionals in culture and free professions, and Nikola Radosevic, president of the party. Speaking about the party, Milica (?Slom) says that "the Independent Political Community (SPZ) of Independent Business People, Agricultural Producers, Professionals in Culture and All Independent Professions is a political community of all producers in towns and in the country and consists of three autonomous wings: the wing of independent business people, the wing of agricultural producers, and the wing of professionals in culture and independent professions." (?Slom) goes on to say that with the use of "political means and direct participation in the work of all bodies in society," these groups will "work on the economic, political, and cultural transformation with the aim of abolishing all centers of bureaucratic power and against any restrictions to individual producers and creators and to civil freedoms, regardless of the person's political, religious, and national affiliation." She adds that the "SPZ advocates a united Yugoslavia with a federal setup, a unified market, taxation and monetary systems, foreign policy, army and other unified functions of the federation, which can ensure a rule-of-law state."

Further on (?Slom) presents some more points from the SPZ program, such as the increase of the standard of living, development of spiritual and humane values in society, abolition of all monopolies and privileges, struggle for a unified market, the right to work under equal conditions, return of nationalized buildings, apartments and land, multiparty parliamentary democracy, and a healthy national economy based on the principle of free market competition.

Later on, Radosevic says that the basic aim of forming such a party was "to associate all those people in our country who belonged to independent professions, people who never gained, but were always giving," that is, people engaged in independent professions." "What we wish is to make it possible through power to be enabled to work undisturbed," he says.

Asked about plans for elections, Radosevic says that no presidential candidate has been decided on, but that the party has strong support in several Serbian regions. He says the party will probably come up with 11 candidates for deputies.

The program at 1600 GMT lasts an hour and consists of a talk between moderator Djordje Vlajic and Nikola Radosevic, party president; Stevan Golic, president of the wing of the independent business people; and Bosko Stanisavljevic, candidate for president of the party's main committee, where they elaborate on the party's aims presented in the morning. Asked about the party's views on the country's setup, one of the members says that "one must proceed from one thing: We want a united country, whatever one would call it—federation or confederation—but it must be a united state with all economic elements."

Vojvodina Croat Alliance on Ethnic Rights

AU0611184090

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 6 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1500 GMT jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The program at 0900 GMT last for 30 minutes and features Bozo Peric speaking about the history of the party and its program. He says that the party was set up on 15 July 1990 in Subotica and has about 5,000 members throughout Vojvodina.

Peric outlines his party's program under the following headings: the person, the family, nationality, society and state, education and culture, the economy, and ecology. As regards nationality, Peric says: "Every person is born as a member of a people, and people, like individuals, have their own rights and interests. We Vojvodina Croats have our own rights and interests which we have unfortunately not been able to express to date, and realize as to do so has opposed the interests of those who were forced on us as guardians. The Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats shapes, expresses, and represents these rights and interests in the political, cultural, and economic spheres."

After a short pause for music, Peric is followed by another member of the party, whose name is indistinct, who expounds further on some of the points in the party program.

The program at 1500 GMT lasts one hour and features five party members, Marijan Matelic, member of the council of the Sombor branch of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats, (?Julijas Skenderovic), party secretary, Branko Nalingerija, member of the party's presidium, Stanko Lacija, president of the Western Subotica branch of the party, and Vladislav Panjan, vice president of the Petrovaradin branch of the party.

The program begins with Marijan Matelic outlining the principles of the party. She says: "The purpose of founding the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats was to realize the common interests of freely and voluntarily associated citizens through political and other activities with the aim of shaping, expressing, and representing the collective interests of Bunjevci, Sokaci, and other Croats in Vojvodina on the following principles: The only free community is the one in which every individual is free and socially secure; the family is the basic element of society and parents are free in the upbringing of their children without the interference of political ideology, which is a prerequisite for the free development of the personality; the free expression of one's own national, religious, and [word indistinct] feelings; the free and equal use of one's own standard literary language in schooling and in relations with organs of authority, administration, and the judiciary, and in public life in general; free association into organizations for the sake of developing education, culture, art, and the social and economic life of Croats in Vojvodina while living together with other peoples and nationalities; the preservation of one's own national identity; the right to develop all forms of links with one's own original people; free, multiparty elections; parliamentary democracy; free enterprise and the pluralism of ownership; the appropriate representation in the electorate organs of power and (?representation) in organs of administration and judiciary; the equality of peoples and nationalities in the SFRY; tolerance and respect for the rights of individuals, peoples, and nationalities; the realization of other common interests in line with the Constitution and the law."

The five party members then answer questions put to them by an unidentified moderator on subjects such as the future structure of Yugoslavia, the status of Vojvodina following the elections, the party's economic program, agriculture, and local Vojvodina issues.

Socialist Democratics Wary of Nationalism

AU0611205290

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0930 GMT on 6 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1600 GMT jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the Yugoslav Socialist Democratic Party, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts 30 minutes and features three members of the party who take turns discussing various topics including the party's foreign policy, Kosovo, the policies of the Federal Executive Council, and the mistakes of the past.

Milan Miladinovic, the party's president, begins by saying that the party was founded on 10 June this year out of a need to fill the vacuum that was left with the failure of the congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Jovan Cepic, deputy president of the party's central council, says among other things; "The party thinks that the preservation of peace in Yugoslavia, Europe, and the world is the basic issue facing humankind." Cepic adds that nationalism is the primary danger to this peace and to Yugoslavia.

The party secretary, whose name is indistinct, speaks about the future setup of Yugoslavia and says: "We are firmly decided on a federal setup with a far better, more

just, and more specific (?delineation) of the rights and duties [word indistinct] of the republic as a state and the federal state. Any thought of creating a confederation is unacceptable."

The second program lasts one hour and features seven members of the party including those who had spoken in the earlier program. An unidentified moderator asks them questions on various subjects. In reply to a question on the structure of Yugoslavia, Jovan Cepic explains the history of the structure of the state, advocating a federal structure which will remain unified.

As regards the position of Serbia in Yugoslavia, Milan Miladinovic says: "We think that the adoption of the new Constitution in Serbia created the minimum of aims that Serbia be a republic on an equal footing with the other republics in Yugoslavia. This rectified the historical injustice that was done to the Serbian people as well as to all the peoples and nationalities who live in Serbia." He goes on to say that a unified Serbia would be much stronger and of more use to itself and the Yugoslav community.

The party members also speak about the party's economic policy which is directed toward finding a way out of the crisis and based on a market economy. One unidentified member says that the party is "for a unified and complete Yugoslav economic system."

The party representatives go on to discuss agriculture, interethnic relations, and ecology.

Vojvodina Reform Alliance Presented

AU0711215490

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0930 GMT on 7 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1700 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Vojvodina, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts half an hour and begins with recordings of parts of speeches made at this party's founding meeting, which was held in Novi Sad on 13 October. These include part of the speech that was made on this occasion by Ante Markovic, president of the Initiative Committee of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia.

Aleksandar Popov then reads out the party's program which was adopted at the founding meeting. The program says among other things that "the well-known economic reform has produced indisputable initial results which have been accepted among the wider strata of citizens and foreign countries. The Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Vojvodina sees this as the starting point for further activity in creating conditions for a common peaceful and dignified life of citizens and people in Vojvodina, Serbia, and Yugoslavia based on democracy and a market economy."

It also says that "the alliance supports the kind of state structure for Yugoslavia which allows complete political, economic, and social self-determination of every citizen, every nation, every republic, every province, and every commune. The alliance advocates a new democratic agreement of all citizens and their states on the basis of an economic and political reform of European design."

The party's program says further on that: "In such a Yugoslavia and Serbia, Vojvodina, as our more immediate homeland, deserves a place determined by its historical economic and cultural identity. Taking into account all its peculiarities, only real autonomy can be the solution for Vojvodina."

The second program lasts for one hour and features Aleksandar Popov, Dragoslav Petrovic, president of the Provincial Committee of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Vojvodina, and three members of the party's Presidium answering questions put to them by an unidentified moderator.

In reply to a question on what kind of structure the alliance advocates for Yugoslavia, an unidentified speaker says that the controversy over a federation or confederation is "a more or less academic dilemma" since the meaning of neither term is completely clear. He goes on to say that it is best to speak about the content of a new Yugoslavia about which there is no dilemma. He continues: "The new Yugoslavia must be a unified state community with all the republics which are now in the framework of Yugoslavia. It must have an efficient federal government which should not threaten even the basic elements of economic policy so that it functions as a modern European state." It must also have a common foreign policy and common defense system.

Another unidentified speaker says later on that: "The Alliance of Reform Forces is a movement which builds a part of its policy on the foundations of the reform of the Federal Executive Council, but this is not a movement which unreservedly supports all steps taken by the Federal Executive Council, nor do we consider that every technical implementation of these foundations has been carried out in the appropriate way. This should be made clear. We are also prepared to take a critical stand against some specific moves of the Federal Executive Council and we are sure that there is no government or solution which will not make mistakes. However, we think that the basic orientations and the creation of an atmosphere of a market economy and relations in Yugoslavia is what we advocate and which is the future of our movement."

The alliance representatives go on to talk more generally about economic policy, democratic elections in other republics, Kosovo, interethnic relations, the media, and welfare policy.

In reply to a question on whether they are optimistic about success at the elections, Dragoslav Petrovic says: "We expect that by the end of this week, we would have set up a coalition of reform forces in Vojvodina which will include, along with the Alliance of Reform Forces for Vojvodina, the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians, the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats, the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative for Vojvodina, the [word indistinct] Forum, the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina, and several other associations like the organizations of Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Ukrainians, and so on. We are convinced that such a coalition on the territory of Vojvodina, even at this moment, is the absolute favorite and the strongest parliamentary group."

Liberal Party Wants Federal Setup

AU0811213490

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 8 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1500 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the Valjevo-based Liberal Party, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian political parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts half an hour and features Ruzica Pavlovic, president of the Belgrade branch of the Liberal Party, talking about the history of the old Liberal party between 1858-1922, and the new party's statute and program.

Speaking about the party, Pavlovic says that the party has 23 branches in all republics except Slovenia and Macedonia.

Presenting the party's program, Pavlovic says that the party strives for a federal setup in Yugoslavia, independent judiciary, and the depoliticization of the armed forces, police, and security service. According to Pavlovic, "the country would be a liberal democratic state with parliamentary democracy." The party also wants the SFRY Presidency to be replaced by a president who would be elected in general and secret elections in which several parties would put forward their candidates. The party platform also proposes that the autonomous provinces in Serbia be abolished.

As regards the foreign policy, the liberals want "Yugoslavia to leave the Nonaligned Movement."

The second program lasts one hour and features four members of the Liberal Party, including its president Predrag Vuletic, talking about the party, its work, program, kind of reforms the party would introduce if it won the upcoming elections, the composition of the party's membership, and the party's views on general issues.

Talking about the confederation-federation issues, Vuletic says that "all citizens of Yugoslavia should decide on this issue through a general Yugoslav referendum, and if three quarters of citizens accepted the federal Yugoslavia, the way we perceive it now, then this wish should be embedded in a law which must be respected." Otherwise, according to Vuletic, there would be no purpose for Yugoslavia to exist in the present form.

Concerning Kosovo, Vuletic takes the view that "the interethnic problems will disappear once economic problems have been resolved."

For the rest of the program, the party representatives expound on how they see the future, the country's general economic problems, and agriculture.

As regards the elections, the party representatives say that they have not decided yet whether they will take part in the elections or not.

New Democracy Rules Out Confederation

AU0811183290

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0930 GMT on 8 October, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1600 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the New Democracy-Movement for Serbia, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian political parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts half an hour during which four members of the party, including Goran Mitic, vice president of the party, presents New Democracy's program.

Mitic introduces the New Democracy as "a movement founded by young people who did not want to be junior to anybody." The introduction is followed by each member of the party talking about one of the four main postulates that form the foundations of the party's program: parliamentary democracy, the market economy, clean environment, and even regional development.

The second program lasts an hour and features Dusan Mihajlovic, president of the party, who answers the questions of an unidentified moderator about various aspects of the party's program.

Asked about his party's views on the federation-confederation issue, Mihajlovic says that "Yugoslavia can only survive as a strong federal, democratic, and parliamentary state, and in that sense I think that a confederation is out of the question."

For the rest of the program, Mihajovic talks about interethnic relations, the general political and economic situation in Yugoslavia, and ecology.

Answering the final question as to whether the party will take part in the upcoming elections, Mihajlovic says that

"at the time when the one-party-state is being replaced by a low-governed state it is very important for the existing bourgeois political parties in Serbia to appear jointly and to jointly take part in the elections, or to boycott it. This will be our view. If the majority, that is, if the main opposition parties in Serbia, such as the strongest opposition party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, take part in the elections, the New Democracy we will also take part in them."

Democratic Alliance Excluded From Serbian Vote

LD0811210990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2018 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Pristina, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the biggest opposition party in this Serbian autonomous province, cannot run in the republican elections scheduled for December 9, secretary of the Serbian Election Committee [name indistinct] Popovic said here today.

According to Popovic, since the ethnic Albanian alliance has been registered at the federal level and not at the republican, it can only run in federal elections. Members of this party can run in the republican elections as independent candidates, he added.

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo does not recognize the legitimacy of the provincial authorities and has not applied for registration in the republic.

About 90 per cent of the population of Kosovo, the centre of the Serbian mediaeval state, are ethnic Albanians who are seeking independence from the republic of Serbia.

Various 'Operational' Bodies for Kosovo Viewed

AU0811153090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 90 p 4

[M. Torov article: "Operatives Design the State"]

[Text] From time to time, reports appear in the press on the work of the so-called "Operational Body of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Serbia for Kosovo," without in fact anyone knowing for sure who its members are, how they function, on which legal bases, and how they cooperate with the other organs in the southern province. The reason for this definitely lies in the fact that the aforementioned body of the republican Executive Council is only one of four in Serbia which are concerned each in a different way with Kosovo. They do this, one could say, "more in the field than in the office," so that each of them could quite comfortably bear the epithet "operational."

Apart from the aforementioned body within the republican Executive Council, there is also a delegate group of the Assembly of Serbia which, as a special body, is concerned primarily with the consistent implementation of Assembly conclusions and regulations on Kosovo: It can propose measures but it cannot make decisions too.

The third group is the so-called "Coordination Body of the Provincial Administrative Organs of Kosovo," which is headed by Momcilo Trajkovic, vice president of the Serbian Executive Council, who has achieved a certain popularity with some recent public statements, as well as the nickname "minister with the portfolio for Kosovo." However, his name is erroneously linked with the aforementioned operational body of the republican Executive Council.

Finally, there is a fourth group responsible for the southern province—the so-called "Directorate for Promoting the Economic and Social Development of Kosovo," which performs specialist, administrative, and other tasks for the Fund for Encouraging the Development of the Province.

Let us return to the so-called "Operational Body of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Serbia for Questions Concerning Kosovo and Metohija" because out of all the aforementioned bodies, it appears the least in the media and in fact seems to be some kind of "nerve center" which in a certain way pulls the strings and "manages" operations in the southern province, like some kind of administrator. It is all the more important to stress that this unique operational headquarters was set up in March on a decision by the Executive Council to make it one of its working bodies. That is to say, this was done before the "dissolution" of the Assembly and Executive Council of Kosovo.

This body has 25 members. These are under secretaries of the republican administrative organs, assistants to the directors, or advisers to the administrative organizations (the planning, statistics, and public administration institutes). This also includes President Dragan Nikolic, his deputy, and secretary.

Even though it seems that it is in the shadows, this team of people played an important role in formulating activities until the law on the cessation of the work of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo was adopted and in implementing this and other documents which the Assembly of Serbia has passed since 5 July. "Somewhat more prominent" is the activity of this body in recent events in the dissolution of the vital functions of the province, for example, during the general strike when it formulated the activities to coordinate the work of the republican organs and organizations in preventing the consequences of the strike.

The "operatives" cite that on 3 September alone, an army "ran out into the field" made up of several hundred people (led by this team) from republican and provincial organs, enterprises, and institutions, including some from Vojvodina. Or, as they say in this operational body, experts ranging "from under secretaries to bakers." According to some assessments, around 80 market inspectors were to be found in Kosovo at that time. According to others, there were more of them.

Whatever the case may be, "the like-minded group of 25" are endeavoring without much fuss and from behind the scenes to establish a "rule-of-law state" in Kosovo.

It is already clear from these examples that we are talking about the realization of tasks that are recognizable from the Program of the Assembly of Serbia on Kosovo, whose implementation, as the republican Executive Council says, is the priority obligation of this operational body. In addition to this, it is also concerned with the functioning of enterprises and institutions in which temporary measures have been introduced, and it has been authorized to propose and take additional measures too.

So that there is no confusion about the powers of certain bodies responsible for Kosovo, it should also be said that the newly elected Kosovo secretaries, together with the directors of the administrative organizations, make up the aforementioned "Coordination Body of the Provincial Administrative Organs," but do not have the powers which belong to the "government," nor can they make decisions.

This provincial "coordination body" assists in the work of the republican Executive Council and directly cooperates with its "operational body." Every decision made by the republican Executive Council is made after first seeking the opinion of the "operational body" and the "coordination body." This chain also includes the aforementioned delegate group and the "Directorate for the Economic Development and Promotion of Kosovo" and all those who basically answer to the Assembly of Serbia for their work. If there are any complications, "these are eliminated as they go along."

Apart from the aforementioned law on the cessation of the work of the Assembly and Executive Council, the legal basis for this work is provided by the special law on the activities of the republican organs under special circumstances and the law on labor relations under special circumstances. The former allows the republican administrative organs to: "carry out an administrative control and ways of implementing laws and regulations"; delegate the powers of the courts and other organs; decide on certain issues within the former powers of the provincial organs; "suspend, outlaw, or halt the implementation of regulations and other general documents and the activities of the organs of the sociopolitical communities, enterprises, and institutions and to take over the implementation of decisions and certain other acts."

These provisions also have their constitutional basis in the already well-known Article 300 of the former republican constitution and its amendment 23. The new constitution regulates this in Article 12 which envisages that "if, despite a warning from the appropriate republican organ, an organ of the autonomous province does not carry out a decision or general act of the autonomous province, the republican organ can directly ensure that it is carried out."

Croatia's Tudjman Discusses Constitutional Changes

LD0811201990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1832 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tudjman confirmed in an interview to the Yugoslav television network Yutel last night that Croatia would make vital changes in the draft of the new constitution.

In the regular Yutel program broadcast by Television Sarajevo, Tudjman said that the introduction to the new constitution will state that the Republic of Croatia is a result of the thousand years of striving of the Croatian nation to create its own state, and the fundamental articles in the constitution will say that it is a state of the sovereign citizens who live in it regardless of their national affiliation.

Tudjman expressed readiness to talk with any person who is a legitimate representative of the Serbian people. "If that person now is Slobodan Milosevic (Serbian president), then with him, and if it will later be someone elected at free elections, then all the better," he said.

Tudjman said that he had recently met with Milosevic at a state Presidency session.

"We from Croatia sent a proposal for inter-republican talks to Serbia, but we have not received any reply to this written invitation. Now, we believe that we should wait for the democratic elections and only then sit down at some table and agree on a possible life together," Dr Franjo Tudjman said.

Deputies Adopt Changes to Croatian Government

LD0811135790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Businessman Dr. Franjo Greguric is the new vice president of the Croatian Government, and Dr. Frane Vinko Golem is the new minister of foreign affairs for the Republic of Croatia.

This proposal was adopted today by a majority of votes of deputies in all three chambers of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia. Franjo Greguric's predecessor, Dr. Mato Babic, was released from the post of vice president at his own request, while the former minister of foreign affairs, Zdravko Mrsic, was released at the government's proposal, but has stayed in the government to head its agency for restructuring and development.

Today, two presidents for the Assembly committees were also elected. Stjepan Sulimanac is the chairman of the Committee for Agriculture, Countryside and Peasantry, while the Committee for Tourism will be headed by Milivoj Franic.

At their joint session the deputies also released 11 deputy miniters from their posts, that is, all except the deputy internal affairs minister.

Croatia Says Markovic Should Delay Giving Report

LD0811152290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—The Assembly of Croatia is advising Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, to not submit his report to the SFRY Assembly on 15 November as scheduled because the date is too near the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It was decided at a joint session of all three Assembly chambers today that all political factors in Croatia and all parties—including Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic—will be asked on the eve of the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina to refrain from political activities so as not to violate the "preelection silence." This primarily refers to a speech Markovic is due to make in Zagreb.

It was said during the session that the Bosnia-Hercegovina legal bodies submitted a similar request to the federal Assembly, but that in the absence of credible information such a request was given support in principle. [as received] A proposal was also made during the session to ban a meeting of the Alliance of Reformist Forces [Savez Reformskih Snaga] due to take place on 17 November; the day before the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This proposal was however not endorsed and was instead moderated by a call to all parties in Croatia to restrain from interfering in the elections in the neighboring republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Croatia Now Responsible for Territorial Defense

LD0811174490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—From now on the Croatian leadership will be in charge of territorial defense and the committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection will be abolished. These new features are envisaged by the changes to the law on all-people's defense which were approved by delegates in the Croatian Assembly in a summary procedure this afternoon.

The aim of these changes is to eliminate provisions of an ideological nature, increase responsibility, simplify planning in all-people's defense, and transfer the financing to the republican level. The Croat Republic's civil protection headquarters will become part of the Ministry of Defense and the commander will be appointed and dismissed by the Croatian Government. The law also envisages a possibility of setting up specialized civil protection units at the republican level.

These, as well as changes to 20 or so other legal proposals, will be examined by parliamentary delegates over the next two days, and practically mean the coordination of republican legislation with the adopted constitutional amendments.

Slovenia Denies Forming Intelligence Service

LD0811173490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—National Defence Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Janez Jansa denied today allegations that Slovenia was forming a new intelligence service. Jansa was speaking at a news conference in the republican capital Ljubljana.

The Slovenian daily VECER published yesterday an interview with Roman Leljak, a former employee of the Yugoslav People's Army's intelligence service, who claimed that a "counter-intelligence service has already been set up in the defence ministry."

Jansa said the republican government had approved the drafts of new laws which will regulate defence as "a function of the sovereign state of Slovenia."

Republican Interior Secretary Igor Bavcar said the Slovenian parliament would soon adopt changes in the law on internal affairs which would end the practice of enacting classified laws to regulate this field.

Bavcar said the government had appointed a new head of the state security service and replaced the entire collegium of the Interior Ministry.

40,000 Attend Albanian Party Rally in Tetova

LD0811222390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2136 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Tetovo, Yugoslavia, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—About 40 thousand supporters of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, almost exclusively ethnic Albanians, ended their election rally in Tetovo in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia today chanting nationalistic and separatistic slogans so far heard chiefly in Kosovo, an autonomous province within Yugoslavia's biggest republic of Serbia.

The rally, held at the sports stadium of Tetovo where the party is registered, was attended also by ethnic Albanians who had come by cars bearing the number-plates of a number of Kosovo towns, as well as Zagreb, Ljubljana and other towns in Croatia and Slovenia, where the authorities bend a kindly eye on the activities of ethnic Albanian separatists.

At the end of the rally, the participants were joined by ethnic Albanian students of all local secondary schools. They formed a procession in the streets, chanting 'This is Albania', 'Albania is winning', 'Victory, victory', and the like, temporarily disrupting the traffic in some of the town's streets.

Montenegro Court on Judges' Political Affiliation

LD0811142390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Titograd, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro has ruled that

its president and judges cannot be members of the organs of political organizations or of citizens associations.

The ruling was made in the light of a provision in the amendments to the Montenegrin Constitution under which the Constitutional Court has the power to decide if the statutes or programs of political organizations and associations conform with the republic's Constitution or if they contradict with the laws of the republic.

Last Minute Party Coalition Formed in Macedonia

LD0811114190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0924 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Skopje, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Three days before the first multiparty parliamentary elections in Macedonia and 24 hours before the "election blackout" Macedonia's national parties suddenly decided to set up a "Front of Macedonian National Unity." The meeting last night of the VMRO—Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity—in Skopje unexpectedly turned into a joint meeting of MAAK—Movement for All-Macedonian Action—the People's Party of Macedonia, and the Democratic Union of Farmers [Demokratski Savez Poljoprivrednika].

The need for an all-Macedonian national coalition front was stressed by MAAK at its congress on 4 November but disagreements between the national parties prevented it from being set up. This sudden coalition which came too late for the first round of elections is expected to enable the national parties to go to the second round with joint candidates.

This move by the national parties is explained by the increasing popularity of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Macedonia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Makedonije] boosted by Ante Markovic's intensive media campaign. According to the latest opinion polls the prime minister's self-assured smile has been depriving Communists of their potential votes while, on the other hand, the well-prepared, calm and sensible appearance by Markovic's spokesmen on local television have eclipsed the national parties.

Assembly Recognizes Serious Constitutional Crisis

LD0811210290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—The members of the SFRY Assembly's Constitutional Commission agreed this afternoon, when summing up the recent discussion on ways of overcoming the constitutional crisis, that the constitutional system in the SFRY is facing a serious crisis, that the mandate of delegates in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, which expires on 31 December, should be extended, and that the adoption of amendments to the federal Constitution should be accelerated.

In a debate on the conclusions which the commissions is expected to propose at tomorrow's session of the Federal Chamber, differences were voiced on whether the present constitution is a sufficient basis for resolving the crisis, what should be the future role of the Federal Chamber, and what should be the contents of the document which the Federal Chamber must pass to enable the continuation of activities for overcoming the crisis.

The commission will meet once again tomorrow morning, prior to the Federal Chamber session to try and reach a common stand.

Socially Owned Firms To Become Stock Companies

LD0811185790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1746 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—More than three hundred socially owned firms in Yugoslavia have become joint-stock companies under a law on social capital, it was heard at a press conference called by the Yugoslav Government in Belgrade today.

Branislav Lukic, who participated in the making of the law, said that a speedier privatization of social property was being hampered by the political bureaucracy which fears that it might thereby lose power, and by the unprepared management and insufficiently knowledgeable legal advisors of firms and jurists in courts.

Workers in socially-owned firms are also showing an interest in the purchase of shares sold internally in the firms under a law on personal income, jurist Radoje Stefanovic said. Most of the shares sold so far on this basis have gone at a 40-percent to 50-percent discount, paid in monthly installments amounting to some 15 percent of the salary.

Secretary Loncar To Visit Iran, Syria, Jordan

AU0811131890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, will soon embark on a tour with stops scheduled in Iran, Syria, and Jordan. The logical question is why Loncar is not travelling to Baghdad. It has been unofficially learned that the Yugoslav diplomatic service is still waiting for a response from Baghdad. According to some reports, there is little chance of Loncar visiting Baghdad.

Foreign Secretary's Tour Outlined

LD0811192890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Diplomatic editor Stevan Cordas report]

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar is leaving soon on a Middle East tour which will include talks with Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian officials on the promotion of bilateral relations and prospects for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Gulf region.

The exchange of views on the Gulf crisis will be a part of the implementation of a mandate given to Yugoslavia, as current chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, at the nonaligned ministerial meeting in New York on October 4.

The Gulf crisis is another big challenge for the Nonaligned Movement. It was provoked by a member of the movement, Iraq, which used force against and occupied another member, in violation of the principles of nonalignment. This occurred at a time when dialogue and negotiations pushed into the background the bloc confrontation, and when the Cold War practically came to an end in the world.

The majority of non-aligned countries have condemned the occupation of Kuwait and asked Iraq to withdraw its troops. However, Baghdad turned a deaf ear to all resolutions of the UN Security Council and appeals of nonaligned countries, those Arab included.

Unofficial sources say that the chances of Loncar visiting Iraq are very small, but that Yugoslav diplomacy is still awaiting Baghdad's reply to its request.

It is regrettable that Iraq seems unwilling to use the good offices of the Nonaligned Movement, because that country is likely to be the biggest loser.

Loncar's mission can hardly be expected to produce more than those of other envoys in quest for a peaceful settlement of the Gulf crisis. Responsibility for this, however, cannot possibly rest with the nonaligned countries, least of all Yugoslavia.

Economic Chamber President Views Talks in U.S.

LD0811122690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1055 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] New York, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—U.S. economic partners and representatives of international financial institutions confirmed in New York in the past few days that Yugoslavia continues to interest them as a single partner, regardless of how it will alone, without foreign interference, settle its internal relations.

The above, as president of the' Yugoslav Chamber of Economy Milan Pavic has stated, is the most important result of the regular annual briefing of the U.S.-Yugoslav council held in New York. The council, in whose [meetings] participate U.S. businessmen and government officials and representatives of Yugoslav firms, business circles and the state, regularly meets in Yugoslavia in the spring and in New York in the autumn to discuss initiatives and proposals for cooperation in the coming year.

At this year's autumn session, full support was lent to the economic reform measures of the Yugoslav federal government, headed by Prime Minister Ante Markovic, to the efforts to preserve the integrity of the Yugoslav market and the political reforms which are under way in Yugoslavia, including the holding of democratic elections in all of its republics.

Yugoslav Chamber of Economy President Pavic stated to TANJUG after the U.S.-Yugoslav council ended work in New York that U.S. State Department representatives had assessed that Yugoslavia would emerge unimpaired from its current difficulties, difficulties which they said were naturally a cause of concern. U.S. Administration representatives clearly stated that the so-called D'Amato-Nicholson amendment adopted by the U.S. Congress would not be implemented and that it posed no real threat to U.S.-Yugoslav Relations.

The Yugoslav representatives, for their part, set out that, despite all its difficulties, Yugoslavia functioned as a state and was a reliable partner for all types of relations. The Yugoslav representatives noted in illustraton that over 2,000 foreign firms had invested a total of over one billion dollars in the Yugoslav economy since the beginning of this year. The fact that there are a few U.S. firms among Yugoslavia's foreign partners, only 54 percent of the total number this year, is a reflection of the excessive cautiousness on the part of potential U.S. partners, as Yugoslav representatives set out.

The U.S. industrial giant Coca-Cola was cited as an example of a different attitude. Coca-Cola, whose plants in Atlanta, Georgia, Pavic visited yesterday, has approved a new project of the expansion of cooperation with Yugoslav firms, whose total value stands at 70 million dollars, of which the U.S. partner will provide 62 million.

Hungarian Official Visits Slovenia, Signs Pact

LD0811121390 Budapest MTI in English 1115 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Maribor, 8 Nov (MTI)—Parliamentary state secretary of the [Hungarian] Prime Minister's Office, Geza Entz has made a two-day visit to Slovenia, where he held talks with the leadership of the Hungarian community of the Mura region and Janez Dular, minister without portfolio.

On Wednesday [7 November] he was also received by Slovenian President Milan Kucan.

During the talks, the sides agreed to sign an agreement on the protection of rights of the Hungarian and Slovenian minorities, which would serve as an example for similar bilateral agreements.

Geza Entz had earlier visited other Yugoslavian republics with considerable Hungarian minorities, namely Croatia, Vojvodina and Serbia.

Reportage on President Jovic's South Korea Visit

WA0811164590

For reportage on the visit by Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the Federal Presidency, to Seoul in the Republic of Korea, including a pre-trip interview and meeting with ROK President No Tae-u, see the South Korea section of the 7 November and subsequent issues of the East Asia DAILY REPORT.